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The State of Black America 1984

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AN OVERVIEW OF BLACK AMERICA IN 1983

By

John E. Jacob

In 1983, as in other years, there were negative and positive occurrences within Black America. Among the latter were the victory of Harold Washington in the mayoral race in Chicago, the crowning of the first black woman to reign as Miss America, the ascent into space of the first black astronaut, the passage and signing of the bill making Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday, and the seriousness with which the entry of a black candidate into the race for the Democratic nomination as president was taken.

Only a few years ago, none of these things would have been possible. America has come a long way in a relatively short space of time when measured by the span of this nation's history. A generation has grown into adulthood never knowing on its own of the evilness and perniciousness of the racial segregation and discrimination that for so long stained America's honor and made a mockery of her claim to be "the land of the free."

Those of us who lived through the dark days of the past are thankful that our young people have been spared some of the pain and humiliation that were so much a part of our daily lives. They accept the way that things are now as part of the normal course of events. That is as it should be.

But those of us who are the products of a different time can never forget how difficult it was to achieve the progress that we, as a people have made. Nor can we be unaware that our progress has not been enough to gain us parity with our fellow Americans, that it has been uneven in that millions of black people are still mired in poverty and hopelessness, and that its momentum has been exhausted.

The bald truth is that not only has movement toward narrowing the socio-economic gap that separates black and white Americans come to a dead halt, retrenchment has set in and blacks are actually retrogressing. Thus, while individual achievements by blacks quite rightfully attracted public attention and drew deserved commendation, the plight of black Americans remained strained throughout 1983 with no light apparent at the end of the tunnel.

To readers of prior editions of this publication, this conclusion will have a familiar ring. They may well ask whether conditions in Black America--at least during the recent past--have always been at a low ebb?

Our response would be that if there has ever been a "golden age" for blacks, it was in the 1960s when they not only made their greatest economic and social gains, but when the climate in the country, particularly that surrounding the national government, was at the very best supportive, and at the very least not antagonistic to their struggle for equality.

The record is clear. Many more blacks than ever before entered the ranks of the middle class, and the percentage of blacks in the labor market who found work equalled, if only briefly, the percentage of whites. The income gap between blacks and white began to close and laws were put on the books to guarantee blacks the same rights that their fellow citizens took for granted.

Above all, there was a sense of optimism present in Black America where there was a feeling that the times were changing. Historically, there has always been the feeling among American blacks that if you persevered, if you kept the faith, that justice and right would prevail.

In the 1960s, black people felt they had a reason to be hopeful. After so many years of neglect, the country was at last facing up to its responsibilities to undo some of the damage that had been done to a people through discrimination, segregation and racism.

There is an all too common fallacy that black people were looking for a hand-out. Some of them might have been, but most were looking for a hand-up. For a fleeting moment they thought they had it, but like the promise of 40 acres and a mule the newly freed slaves received in the First Reconstruction that was to enable them to stand on their own two feet, the assistance was all too soon withdrawn.

When one looks back at the 60s, it becomes even more bitterly ironic that the present administration has made such a fetish out of attacking the programs of the 60s that did so much in helping blacks improve their status. One must raise the question, whether without those programs--Head Start, Community Action, the Elementary and Seconday Education Act, Student Loans, Manpower Training, Affirmative Action, Minority Business Loans and all the rest -- blacks could have come as far as they have? The evidence argues that they would not have.

And as Joseph A. Reaves and John C. White reported in the Chicago Tribune in the Fall of 1983:

"It was in the 1970s that blacks began to lose some of those hard won advances. The recessions of 1973 and 1975 hurt white and blacks alike, but blacks have had a harder time recovering. Per capita income and median family income for blacks peaked in 1978 and has been falling since."

A further insight has been provided by Dr. David Swinton, President of the National Economic Association and Director of the Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy who, writing in The State of Black America-1983 said:

"Blacks essentially have made no progress over the decade of the 1970s in improving their living standards either in an absolute or relative sense."

A retrospective look at 1983 can only conclude that the status of most of Black America was indeed at a low ebb. While there were signals that an economic recovery was underway in the country, little or no impact was felt in Black America, nor does it seem likely to be felt within the foreseeable future, if circumstances remain as they are.

Overall, unemployment dropped to 8.4% (as of November, 1983), the lowest figure in two years, but black unemployment was 17.3%, a decrease from other months to be sure, but still at a level that in any sector of our society would justify the use of the term "depression."

What should be understood is that although the overall unemployment rate went down in 1983, that does not mean that there was less unemployment. The government's figures measure joblessness among people who are actively in the labor market. As a consequence, it counts as employed the many millions of people who are working part-time when they really want full-time jobs, and fails to count those discouraged workers who having given up hope of finding jobs are no longer actively seeking work.

Therefore, when the unemployment rate goes down, it often simply means that many people have become discouraged and dropped out of the labor market so that they are no longer available to be counted. This is particularly true in Black America where jobs are so difficult to come by, and where the rate of male participation in the labor force has been declining dramatically for more than a decade.

Experience has shown that in a recovery, white unemployment goes down fairly rapidly while black unemployment, after a period of stability, begins to drift down slowly never reaching the point from which it began. Thus, each successive recession and subsequent recovery leaves blacks further behind than before. Faced with this inescapable fact, the lack of enthusiasm in Black America about the current recovery is understandable.

Economic realities dominate life within Black America, but to many white Americans the struggle of blacks is over, and nothing further needs to be done. They see that blacks vote now with little impediment, they have jobs they never held before, they hold elective offices, they can go to the best schools, and they are free to patronize the hotel or restaurant of their choice.

But what is apparent on the surface fails to reveal what is underneath. Within Black America a third of its people are at or below the poverty level. Half of its children live in poverty and have a fifty percent chance of growing up underprivileged, undereducated and underemployed. A third of its adults who want work can't find it, and two out of three of its teenagers are in the same boat. Its average income is some 58% of that of White America.

Certainly, the most odious forms of discrimination and segregation have been removed but still remaining is the gross economic disparity that works such a negative impact on the quality of life within Black America. Retrospectively, Rep. Parren Mitchell (D.-MD), a civil rights activist for over two decades, has been moved to comment:

"We made a serious mistake during the 1960s. We should have meshed in our agenda the demands for civil rights and economic parity at the same time. One is meaningless without the other. In this country, the leaders are the dollar people. And that means few blacks."

The bleak economic situation in Black America, and all the attendant ills that implies, were not the only source of major concern in 1983. Further clouding the grim picture were the attitudes and actions of the present Administration.

In previous evaluations of the Administration we have spoken about what we have perceived as its "insensitivity" to the needs of minorities and the poor and supplied supporting documentation. We have continually urged the Administration to take steps to lessen the alienation it was creating between itself and the less favored sectors of our society. Obviously, our words have fallen on unhearing and/or uncaring ears for what we have seen over the last 12 months has been the continued manifestation of an attitude toward Black America that has resulted in it being almost universally regarded by blacks as the most hostile administration in the last 50 years.

The Administration stubbornly contends that its troubled relations with Black America have more to do with the manner in which its actions are perceived in the black community, than with any intent on its part to do harm to civil rights. But black people are not buying this and as the Washington Post reported last fall:

"For nearly half a century, the federal government has been the great equalizer for blacks, intervening on their behalf, coming to the rescue and often taking the lead in the fight for civil rights. Now the Reagan Administration is openly seeking to end this special relationship, contending that it has gone too far and that the time has come for blacks to make it on their own."

If this were truly a color blind and racially neutral society, and if there were parity in the distribution of society's rewards and responsibilities, the Administration's approach would be reasonable. However, we are still afflicted by a racial spoils system that favors white males and excludes blacks, other minorities and women. We face not only the results of historic discrimination, but the effects of continuing discrimination.

From its support of tax exemptions for private schools that discriminate, to its reduction of the federal government's civil rights enforcement mechanism, to its politicalization of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, to its continuing assaults against affirmative action, the Administration has sought to turn back the clock.

The tragedy for all Americans, now and in the future, is that the short sighted policies of this administration have helped to fan the flames of racial and class divisions and made that achievement of parity for all Americans even more difficult.

And with its social policies, the Reagan Administration has caused added misery for the poor, a disproportionate number of whom are black. There have been a number of studies that document this. One of the latest, by the Urban Institute in Washington, says that during the Reagan years the average income for the poorest one-fifth of U.S. families has fallen by 9.4%, while it has slipped only one-half of one percent for the

richest one-fifth.

The Congressional Budget Office, a non-partisan entity, has reported that the poor have been hurt most by the Reagan budget cuts with families earning less than $10,000 a year losing twice as much income and services as higher-income families. Additionally, the Census Bureau has reported that the nation's poverty rate increased from 11.4% in 1978 to 15% in 1982.

In fairness, the Reagan Administration has not been alone in all of this. It has been assisted by a compliant Congress--and this includes Democrats as well as Republicans--which for the most part quietly acquiesced while the programs of the Great Society were torn asunder, while tax breaks were given to the rich, while billions of dollars were thrown at the Defense Department, and while programs of aid to the cities and the poor were decimated. It is only in recent months that the Congress has begun to raise questions and oppose certain of the Administration's policies.

Small wonder then that there is such a sense of frustation in Black America about both political parties. Blacks have grown accustomed to being ignored by the Republicans and taken for granted by the Democrats, but they have shown increasing intolerance for this situation.

All across America, growing importance is being placed on registering and voting. Blacks have seen what their votes can do in statewide, congressional and local elections and their desire to make use of this power, in the way that they choose, has been heightened. Part of this rising mood is of course attributable to the anger and resentment black people feel toward those they view as unsympathetic to their needs and aspirations. And part of it is due to the pragmatic realization that they can make a difference.

Regardless of motivation, 1984 may well be a watershed in the history of black political involvement. Therefore, the most important task that the black community will face in 1984 is to see to it that every eligible person is registered to vote. There are 17 million blacks of voting age, but only ten million are registered to vote.

In my keynote address to the National Urban League's Annual Conference in the summer of 1983, I urged a course of action that I believe is crucial for Black America in 1984.

"Massive black voter registration can make both parties more responsive to our needs. And coalitions of blacks, Hispanics and poor whites, who share our suffering, can move America toward fairness and justice.

"In 1984, black and brown votes will elect the President of the United States. There are over five million potential black votes in the six most populous northern industrial states. There are nine million potential black votes in the South.

"So we do have power--the power of the ballot. But it is up to us to

use it. It's up to us to accept our responsibilities and get out the black vote."

And just as there was a sharpened awareness in Black America of its own responsibilities in the maximizing of the black vote--something that no one else can do for it--there was also a rapidly developing awareness of the role the black community has in protecting and strengthening the black family.

In the space of ten years, from 1970 to 1980, we have gone from having married couples constitute 66% of black families with 31% of the families headed by females, to having black married-couple families drop to 54% and single female-headed families rise to 42%. Some 83% of the births to black teenagers are to unwed mothers.

Seventy percent of our children now living in poverty are in households headed by single females. This is a prescription for disaster. A child growing up in such circumstances has two strikes on him or her from the start, and may well grow into adulthood as a member of the growing sector of our society perpetually without gainful employment or any hope of ever escaping the clutches of poverty.

Within the National Urban League and through our network of 113 affiliates we have set in motion a "Blueprint for Action" that bears a direct relationship to the black family. We have targeted five priority areas--teenage pregnancy, black on black crime, citizenship education and participation, single female-headed households, and education. We have gone through a detailed planning process and are now in the process of implementing programs at the local level.

This task we have chosen for ourselves will not be an easy one, but we know that the black family is at risk and we cannot in good conscience devote any less than our maximum effort to its well-being. We view the problems we have cited as the most important ones that Black America will be facing over the next several years, and ones that must be addressed by all institutions within our community including our national organizations, our churches, our community-based organizations, our media, our fraternal and social groups--in fact every institution that makes up the totality of Black America.

This is not to absolve other sectors of our society from the responsibilities they bear in the creation of educational and job opportunities, in providing social services for the needy, and in advancing the cause of equality. However, in the five areas that we have described, the primary responsibility rests with Black America and we are encouraged that in 1983 that there was a rising concern in this community about these matters and a growing determination to do something about them. In this our annual assessment of the status of Black Americans over the past 12 months, we have once again called on a number of outstanding scholars to look at several important subject areas and provide us with their objective and independent evaluations. Their views, therefore, do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the National Urban League. Our own summation and recommendations appear at the end of this report.

The views of the authors are presented to enlighten the readers on the realities of life within Black America in 1983, and hopefully to help influence the decision-making process in 1984. We express our gratitude for the contributions of the authors.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF BLACK AMERICA - IS THERE A RECOVERY?

By
Denys Vaughn-Cooke

I. INTRODUCTION

Most Americans have always felt that a job was fundamental. Black Americans also shared this view and they too traditionally regarded unemployment as a temporary state. However, the recession of the 1980s brought an instability to the employment situation that had not existed since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Not only did double digit unemployment become a reality, but many workers found that their unemployment insurance benefits, which they had relied on to carry them through other spells of joblessness, had been exhausted. Additionally, many of them faced the prospect of never returning to their former jobs because their plants had either reduced their work forces or closed down entirely.

By the first quarter of 1983 unemployment had reached 11.2% overall, and was at 20.6% for blacks. This was in sharp contrast to the recessions in 1975 and 1976 when overall unemployment was 8.5% and 7.7% respectively.[1/]

Then in the third quarter of 1983, unemployment began to fall. By December, the overall rate was down to 8.1% and 17.8% for blacks.[2/] Other major economic indicators also seemed to signal the beginning of a recovery from the worst recession the country had experienced in over 40 years. For example, preliminary figures showed that in the private sector in October, an individual worked an average of 35.3 hours a week as compared to 34.1 hours the previous October.[3/] This was the highest weekly average over the preceding 12 months.

The number of overtime hours worked also increased. In October 1983 the average weekly overtime totalled 3.3 hours as opposed to 2.3 hours a week in October 1982. Corporate profits and the Gross National Product (GNP) all showed significant advances.

Optimism appears to be on the rise, particularly within the administration which contends that its economic policies have worked and a recovery is well on the way. The fundamental and intriguing question for Black Americans is how have its people fared in this so-called recovery period? At the outset, it should be understood that answering such a question at this point is difficult since the necessary data to do an in depth empirical analysis is not yet available because of the time lag involved in the data collection process. However, with an analysis of present and past data, accompanied by an explanation as to why these data show specific trends, we should be able to arrive at a fair understanding of the economic status of blacks in 1983.

This essay will focus on certain indicators which are indicative of the economic status of the black community. The most current statistics for our analysis are those on employment. They are also the most crucial since employment is by far the most important source of income for blacks, as opposed to such other sources as profits, dividends, interest, etc. We

will also look at the labor force participation rates for various age groups of blacks to see how they fared compared to their white counterparts. While income statistics are not yet available for 1983, such information is available for 1982 and will provide a picture of the position of both blacks and whites.

Further, we will examine some of the policy responses of the administration in the employment sphere and analyze their soundness and applicability to solving the labor market problems of blacks. Finally, we will look at labor market operations to see how income and employment are determined for whites and blacks, with a view toward understanding what the constraints are against racial equity in the labor market.

II. OVERALL BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT

The 1982-83 recession has been the most devastating employment experience for blacks in the more than 35 years since employment statistics have been kept by race. Black unemployment peaked in the first two quarters of 1983 at 20.6%, declined slightly to 19.6% in the third quarter, went down to 16.8% in November, and then, as noted earlier in this paper, rose slightly to 17.8% in December.[4/] Obviously there was some slight improvement between the beginning and ending of the year, but given the horrendous black unemployment rate to begin with, the reduction made scarcely a ripple in the pool of unemployment in Black America.

When we turn to the National Urban League's Hidden Unemployment Index which counts those workers not tabulated in the official Bureau of Labor statistics (i.e. those who have taken part-time jobs because they could not find full-time work, and those who have become discouraged and stopped looking for work), the picture becomes even grimmer. Throughout the first three quarters of 1983, this figure for blacks was at or slightly above 33%. It was also approximately twice the level for white hidden unemployment, reflecting the same pattern that has traditionally existed in the official jobless statistics.[5/]

To further understand the employment picture in Black America and what the future prospects are, a look at the labor force experience of different age groups should be instructive.

A. Teenagers - 18- 19 Years

In examinimg the teenage work experience we have chosen to look at those teenagers, 18-19, who are on the verge of adulthood and most likely out of high school. These young men and women are at the stage of their life when work experience becomes a necessary part of the transition from adolescence to adulthood. This holds true even for those black teenagers who go to college since very few of them can afford not to work, but must help put themselves through school.

Teenage unemployment remained at a critical level in 1983. By October 1983 black male teenagers age 18-19 had an unemployment rate of 42.7%.(See Table 1) The rate for white teenagers was 18.3%. For black

teenagers the October rate was lower than the average monthly rate of 47.4% in 1982. The same held true for white teenagers in that their rates of 21.1% in 1982 had also fallen. What we can note is that from 1.2 times the white male unemployment rate in 1955, the black teenage rate is now 2.3 times the white teenage rate, indicating what has happened over time.

Black female teenagers had an unemployment rate of 56.1% in October 1983.(See Table 2) The rate for white teenagers was 14.9%. For black female teenagers the rate was much higher than the average monthly rate of 1982 of 39.8%, while the white female rate in October 1983 represented a decline from the average monthly rate of 15.7% in 1982. The unemployment rate of black female teenagers increased to 3.8 times the unemployment rate of white female teenagers in 1983. In 1955 it was only 2.8 times the white unemployment rate. Even more alarming is the fact that the National Urban League's Hidden Unemployment Index has consistently had overall black teenage unemployment at or just under 70% since the third quarter of 1982.

In terms of labor force participation, black teenage male participation which has been declining over the past 30 years, while white teenage participation has remained stable, was at 50.2% at the end of 1983, or some 19 percentage points lower than that of white teenagers.(See Table 3)

Teenage black female labor participation which has remained fairly constant over the past 30 years was 41.4% at the end of 1983.(See Table 4) White female teenagers, who have improved their participation rate over the same period, had a 61.5% participation rate at the end of the year.

From these statistics it is obvious that the economic cycle affects all groups of teenagers, but it is particularly devastating to black teenagers who are participating less and less in the labor market and finding fewer and fewer jobs. What is particularly striking is that even though black youth have increased their educational attainment at a faster rate than white youth, this increase has not resulted in higher employment rates.[6/]

B. Adults - 20-24

The unemployment figures for this age group, as of October 1983, were 30.4% for black males and 32.5% for black females. For white males the figure was 11.4% and for white females it was 9.6%.(See Tables 1 and 2)

As with black teenagers, the labor force participation rates of this group has declined since 1955. At that time, black males had a participation rate of 89.7% and white males had a participation rate of 86.4%.(See Table 3) By October 1983, the black participation rate had declined to 77.1% and the white male participation rate had gone down to 85%. What this represents is a loss over the period of 12.6 percentage points for blacks and only 1.4 percentage points for whites.

Black female labor participation in 1955 was 46.7% and white participation 45.8%.(See Table 4) By October 1983, black female participation was 57.6% and white female participation was 72.8%. Thus, black women had gone from a 1.2% advantage in 1955 to a 15.2% disadvantage in 1983.

It is quite obvious that young black adults aged 20-24 are experiencing the same kinds of unemployment problems that black teenagers are facing. These deteriorating conditions in the labor market do not augur well for black workers in the future since many of these individuals are missing the opportunity to develop work related skills, and are losing even more ground to their white counterparts in the competition for jobs.

C. Older Adult Workers

Within the age group, 25-54, the unemployment figure for males, as of October 1983, was 12.9% as compared to 5.9% for white males. Black female unemployment in the same age group was 14.1% as compared to 6% for white females.

In terms of labor market participation, black males in the age groups 25-34 and 35-44 have the highest labor force participation rates of all groups of black workers with participation rates of 87.1% and 90.7% respectively. In 1955 there was approximate racial parity in labor force participation rates in these age groups. Black males age 25-34 had a participation rate of 95.8% as compared to that of 95.5% of similarly age white men. In 1955 in the 35-44 age group black men had a labor force participation rate of 96.2% while similarly age white men had a rate of 98.2%. Thus the disadvantage of blacks in relation to white men of 1.7 and 2.0 percentage points respectively in 1955, increased to a disadvantage of 8.3 and 5.3 percentage points in 1983.

This erosion has been repeated for black male workers in the age categories of 45-54 and 55-64. In 1955, black males age 45-54 and 55-64 had labor force participation rates of 93.2% and 83.1% respectively. Similar age white males had rates of 96.8% and 89.2% respectively. These disadvantages of 3.6% and 6.1% for black males age 45-54 and 55-64 had increased by October 1983. Black males age 45-54 saw their participation rates fall to 83.9%, as compared to the white male rate of 92%. For those black males age 55-64 the decline in participation rates was to 63.5%. The labor force participation rate was 69.9% for similar white males.

What is noteworthy at this point is that even though white male labor force participation rates for all groups of male workers has fallen, the decline has not exceeded 3 percentage points in any age group except for white male workers over 55 years.(See Table 3) For black males the decline in labor force participation rates in every age group under 55 has more than doubled the white decline.

It is also interesting to note that in 1983 although adult unemployment fell across the board, the October 1983 black/white ratios are higher than the ratios of the recession year of 1982 for all age groups except males aged 55-64. Obviously white male employment is benefiting more than black male employment in this "recovery" period.

The picture for black females age 25-64 in terms of their labor force participation is provided in Table 4. In all age groups, with the single exception of females age 45 to 64, black females have higher labor force participation rates than equivalent white females. However, the historic trend shows that white females have made enormous gains in labor force participation rates since 1955.

In 1955 black females age 25-34 had a labor force participation rate of 51.3% compared to similar age white women who had a participation rate of 32.8%. By 1983 black females in this group had increased their labor force participation to 72.4% and white females had increased their participation rate to 69.9%. Black women increased their labor force participation rate in every adult category, but white women increased their's even faster. For example, black female advantage over white women in labor force participation fell from 16.1 percentage points in the 35 to 44 age category in 1955, to 4.8 percentage points in September 1983. In the 55 to 64 age group an 8.9 percentage point advantage in labor force participation in 1955 fell to a 3.8 percentage point advantage by September 1983. Not only have white adult females been able to penetrate the labor force at a faster rate than black adult females, but the unemployment situation for black women vis-a-vis white women has also deteriorated. The unemployment ratio for all age categories shows that black women are much more likely to be unemployed than white women in 1983 than they were in 1955.(See Table 2)

Certain conclusions can very easily be drawn from the statistics on labor force participation and unemployment rates. Black males and females are losing ground to whites in every age category in terms of their labor force participation. Black unemployment at present is higher than that of any other period between the Great Depression and the start of the recession early in 1982. Blacks on the whole show no sign of holding steady or gaining ground vis-a-vis whites in their ability to maintain employment.

III. INCOME STATUS OF THE BLACK POPULATION *

A. Poverty Status

The recession year of 1982 saw the number of blacks below the poverty level rise from 34.2% in 1981 to 35.6%.(See Table 5) This was not only a higher incidence of blacks in poverty in 1982 than in 1981, but it represented the largest percentage of blacks below the poverty level in the last ten years. Table 5 shows that while the poverty percentage increased for both whites and blacks in 1982, one out of every three blacks was in poverty compared to only one out of every eight whites. Of great significance is the fact that 47.6%, or almost half of all blacks 18 years and under, live in poverty. Conversely, only 17% of whites under 18 are in poverty. The figure for children under 3 years is even higher at 51.5%.[7] These statistics suggest a growing inability of black adults with children to provide their families with the basic necessities of life.

* The most current available statistics are from 1982.

It is obvious that the recession has catapulted even more black families into poverty. However, the number of blacks in poverty has been around or just above three out of every ten individuals for the last 12 years consistently, whether the economy has been in an upswing or downturn.

B. Family Income

In 1982 the median black family income was $13,598 while the median income for white families was $24,593.(See Table 6) Thus black family income was 55% of white family income.(See Table 7) Black families have lost ground to white families and the gap in income is now larger than at any time in the 1970s or early 1980s. Black families have obviously been hit harder by the recession. The closest black families have come to white families since 1970 was in 1975 when black families had 62% of the income of white families. The recession of the next two years, 1976 and 1977, increased the racial disparity and by 1977 it had fallen to 57%. Since the family unit is the one in which most individuals live, these ratios are very important in indicating the decreasing ability of black families to provide for their members.

C. Individual Income

A comparative look at the data in Table 8 on individual male income which takes into account all income from whatever source, shows the recession year of 1982 reduced black male median income by 2% in real terms from that of 1981. This mirrored the white male individual income performance which showed median income for males of both races declining and the median for females rising. When comparing white and black income, black males gained .01 percent at the median while black females lost .01 percent.

D. Individual Income By Region

The lowest level of individual income for black males is in the Southern region of the country where the median income is only $7,890.(See Table 8) The North Central region has the highest median at $10,966, closely followed by the West at $10,711 and the Northeast at $10,030. The largest disparity between black and white males regionally occurs in the South where black male median is 56% that of white males. The smallest disparity occurs in the West where black males have 70% of the white median income. However, it is precisely in these two regions that the largest decreases in black male individual income have occurred.

Overall, black females gained 1.1% in income over 1981 with a 1982 median income level of $5,263. White females gained 1.9% in 1982 over their 1981 level. Black females achieved 88% of the white female income level in 1982.(See Table 9)

Performance of black females varies regionally. In the Northeast and West the median incomes of both black and white females is about the same, with black females recording a slight advantage in the West. In the North Central region black females had a median income which was 85% of the white

female median income. In the South it was 81%. While income increased for white women in all regions in 1982, income for black women increased only in the Northeast and South. The South recorded a sharp increase for black women of 18.7% and closed the gap between black and white women by .07%. In the North Central and West black females lost 9.0 and 5.3% of their 1981 level of income.

E. Full-Time Workers

In 1982, the median income for black males working full time year round was $15,790.(See Table 10) The median for white males was $22,232. The median income of black males was 71% that of white males. This represented a .01% increase over the ratio of 1981. Overall, both black males and white males lost income in real terms when compared to 1981 levels. Black males lost .7% while white males lost 1.1%.

Black male full-time workers in the North Central states increased their income by 4.8% over the 1981 levels and coupled with a decline of 1.3% for white male workers, black male full-time workers, now with 90% of the white male income, were able to close the income gap at the median by ten percentage point in 1982. The biggest income gain was made by black males in the Northeast with an increase in median income of 8.8% over 1981 levels. Along with a .9% decrease for white male workers the black male full-time worker had closed the income gap by seven percentage points. In the Southern region, black males working full-time year round lost 3.3% in income at the median when compared to 1981 levels. Similar white males lost .8% in 1982. Overall, black male full-time workers in the South had only 64% of the income of similar white males in 1982. This represented a 2% point decline from 1981.

The worst decline in black male full-time workers' income in 1982 occurred in the Western region where black males lost 6.9% of their 1981 level of income. This decline coupled with only a slight decrease in white male income of .1% decreased the income of black males to 73% of that of white males. This represented a decrease of 6.0% from the 1981 income level. Overall, from the 1981 black families with a median income of $12,376 had a 2.0% increase in 1982 over their 1981 level.(See Table 11) White women in 1982 with a median income of $13,347 had a 3.0% increase in their 1981 level. Comparison between these medians shows that black women had 89.1% of the income of white women which represented a slight decline of .01% from 1981.(See Table 10)

Regionally, the income performance showed that black and white females working full-time made significant income gains in every region of the country, except for white women in the West whose 1982 median income declined by 1.6% and black women in the Northeast who gained only 1% in 1982 income over 1981 levels. The North Central and West saw black female full-time workers' median income rise by 6.5% over 1981 levels and 8.9% respectively to achieve parity with similar white female income. The largest gains in median income levels for black women were made in the West and North Central.

IV. POLICY RESPONSES OF THE ADMINISTRATION

Over the last 30 years, as we have established, blacks lost ground to whites, in terms of their proportional representation in the labor force. Blacks are also three times as likely to be below the poverty level as whites and black income continues to lag far behind white income levels. The question becomes, why do these disparities continue to manifest themselves with no apparent solution in sight?

The present administration has recognized the importance of the unemployment crisis. In the Economic Report of the President in January, 1983 it was stated that unemployment is the most serious problem facing America.

The administration's policy response is predicated on a specific understanding of the economy. It views the unemployed as being divided into two groups, the cyclically and structurally unemployed. The cyclically unemployed are seen as those who are unemployed because of downturns in the economy. This cyclical unemployment is seen disappearing as the economy improves. Structural unemployment is seen as unemployment which remains even after the economy is recovering. It is described as a natural concomitant of a dynamic economy with constantly changing patterns of demand.

The admininstration feels that it has to be cautious in the use of fiscal or monetary policy to stimulate further employment since it might stimulate inflation. It argues that there is a lower limit or inflation threshold on unemployment below which inflation tends to increase. This threshold lies between 6 and 7%. One of the factors blamed for this inflation unemployment threshold is social programs. The administration postulates that the social programs such as unemployment insurance, encourage firms to lay-off workers and prompts workers to prolong periods of unemployment. Wage rigidity is also cited. The administration claims that employees are resistant to wage reductions and that this resistance is due to the side effect of a safety net program. The final factor cited as contributing to the rising inflation threshold unemployment rate is the increasing rapidity of structural change in the economy. The administration asserts that expansionary macroeconomic policies are unlikely to reverse the effect of these changes. Public employment programs are ruled out as helpful because of the time necessary to implement them, and the administration's doubt as to whether they yield a net increase in employment.

The administration thus has identified unemployment insurance, the minimum wage regulation, and intervention by the government in labor market problems as factors which hurt rather than help employment. In fact, the administration has stated that labor market problems such as unemployment and low wages are not particularly helped by government initiatives and may in fact be hurt by such efforts. The kind of policy responses it has initiated reflect this thinking. An examination of its four specific program areas involving employment and training follows.

A. Job Training Partnership Act

The major policy of the Reagan Administration in the area of employment and training has been the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) which was signed into law in October, 1982. The act formally took effect in October, 1983. The year in between was a phase-out period for the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) which the JTPA replaced.[9]

The new JTPA has consolidated general federal assistance to states into block grants. The current administration argues that directing resources to the states allows increased coordination with other programs that are intended to provide training and to improve the operation of the labor market. Cited are programs such as vocational and adult education, and employment service, which are already primarily the responsibility of state governments. Public service employment is prohibited in keeping with the administration philosophy.

In 1982 when the CETA program expired, the administration argued that the block grants to states would flow to service deliverers via a system of Private Industry Councils (PICs), on which a majority of seats would be held by local business representatives. The argument was that since PICs would be under the control of business representatives, the graduates of the programs would be better prepared to work in the private sector. However, an analysis by the Urban Institute of Washington, D.C. concluded that empirical evidence suggests that this assumption could be wrong. Private Industry Councils, it was pointed out, had been operating on a limited scale as a part of CETA programs for several years and their track record was mixed at best.[10]

The administration argues that in the old CETA programs only 18% of federal aid went for training with the remainder being spent on income transfers, administration, and various support services. Because 70% of the 1984 grant amount must be used for training, more training will occur under the block grants than under the CETA programs they were designed to replace. The administration has also argued that elimination of stipends removes a short-run financial incentive for enrolling in training and will, therefore, focus training on those most serious about long-run improvement.

However, many persons for whom training might work would not be able to afford the long-run costs of training no matter how serious they are, and thus would not benefit from a program of this type. It is also likely that with the elimination of stipends, more of the training enrollees would be individuals with alternative sources of support. These individuals are thus likely to be current public assistance recipients and younger workers who still receive family support. There is a much smaller possibility that trainees would be working adults since participation in training might leave many of then without any income.

B. Job Corps

The President requested $553 million for the Job Corps in the FY 1984 budget. The Job Corps funds are slated for continuous reduction over the next three years, totalling 15.6% between 1983-1986.[11]

The Job Corps offers comprehensive training and services to poor, unemployed, out of school youth age 16 to 21. Enrollees receive remedial basic education, vocational skills training, extensive support services (such as health care) and general preparation for work. Most analyses of the Job Corps performance show that it is a successful program. Employment for graduates as well as earnings have increased as a result of participation in the program. The likelihood of obtaining a high school certificate increases by 25% for Job Corps graduates, and there is a reduction of more than four weeks per year in reliance on public assistance and unemployment insurance payments. Various estimates have the benefits per enrollee exceeding the cost by 45%. This is a remarkable achievement with a population of severely disadvantaged youth. However, despite the success of the Job Corps program, the severe cuts in its budget cast doubt on the commitment of this administration to upgrade the skills of disadvantaged youth.

C. Minimum Wage

The administration has before Congress a proposal to amend the minimum wage for youth during the summer months to enable employers to hire unskilled youth. Employers, the administration claims, find it very difficult to offer training because of the constraints imposed by the mimimum wage legislation. These laws, it is alleged, discourage employers from hiring unskilled workers at very low wages and compensating them further by providing training. One of the major concerns with this legislation is whether it will solve the problem of unemployment among minority youth who are the most disadvantaged of all groups in the labor force. A further concern is its potential effect on other groups of workers.

Preliminary findings of a study done by the National Urban League Research Department show that a majority of employers would not hire black youth even if their wages were subsidized 100%.[12] It is doubtful therefore, that a sub-minimum wage would help this group. If the past is any indication, the group that will benefit most from a sub-minimum wage are white teenagers, and their hiring is more likely to displace current employees rather than fill new jobs. The group most likely to be displaced are adult male black workers. Their likely replacements are white male youth, particularly in labor markets where there is potential competition between these groups.

However, even opponents of a sub-minimum wage for youth would agree that something must be done about youth unemployment. If a young person fails to obtain initial contact with the labor market, a vicious cycle of unemployment and inexperience could be set in motion. The individual so excluded may never develop good work habits or any work record at all.

D. Work Incentive Program

There is no planned outlay in the Federal budget for this program after 1984. The Work Incentive Program provides job services and training to welfare recipients, and the dismantling of the program is puzzling given the administration's stated preference of work over the receipt of

welfare payments. What it does seem to represent is the continuing withdrawal of the federal government from its commitments to social programs, regardless of the viability of alternative state programs or the social costs of such withdrawal.

E. Policy Critique

What is clear from an examination of current policies is the fact that again at the operational base of policy formulation is a 'blame the victim' syndrome. These policy responses are inadequate and based on a philosophy which impedes clarity on the economic problem of unemployment and insufficient income which plagues blacks disproportionately in the American economy. The policy response results in a reliance on the private sector to solve these problems. In fact, the private sector as we shall see in our next section is not hospitable to black/white income and employment parity. On the other hand, the public sector has been the major contributor to black professional employment.

Martin Canory of Stamford University noted that in 1970, 57% of all black male college graduates and 79% of all black female college graduates held public sector jobs.[13/] It does not take a wizard to deduce which group predominated in the private sector. The erosion of the public sector role as a good source of employment for blacks is clear when it is realized that the substantial growth of government jobs in the 1960s and 1970s is no longer the case. This growth peaked in 1980 and had fallen by 200,000 by the end of 1981. Obviously present policy will not aid black income employment inequalities.

V. THE AMERICAN ECONOMY AND THE GENERATION OF RACIAL INEQUALITY IN INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT[14/]

To understand the barriers to income and employment parity for blacks it is necessary to examine labor market operations. In fact, the very form of labor markets has been responsible for those inequalities which are not generated by the lack of skill or human capital. Most economists, particularly those of the school of thought which seems to dominate the present policy debate and formulation, feel that if blacks could achieve educational parity all problems of inequality would be solved and the experience of blacks would parallel that of whites. Nothing could be further from the truth. Racial income and employment inequalities are generated by differential access to specific labor markets which have different experiences in terms of income levels and employment stability for their workers.

Labor market structure has changed considerably in this century from a more homogeneous form in the more competitive economy of the last century and early part of this century, to a more segmented form today. This segmentation reflects growth, development and present dominance of monopoly firms in the economy. These corporations have more stable production and sales and have developed job structures and internal relations reflecting that stability. Many peripheral firms still survive, however.

Robert G. Averitt summarizes some of their essential characteristics:

> These enterprises are the ones usually dominated by a single individual or a family. The firm's sales are realized in restricted markets. Profits and retained earnings are commonly below those in the center: longterm borrowing is difficult. Techniques of production and marketing are rarely as up to date as those in the center. These firms are often, though not always, technological followers, sometimes trailing at some distance behind the industry leaders.15/

Three segments of jobs came out of the process of segmentation -- the primary segment which can be divided into an independent primary and a subordinate primary and the secondary segment.

The giant corporations, with their relative stability, provide a "primary" market for labor in which wages, fringe benefits and stability in employment are key features. The peripheral firms provide a "secondary" market for labor in which wages are lower and stability of employment is less assured, because these firms are more affected by cyclical downturns in the economy.

Firms in the primary segment are able to create internal labor markets through the creation of career ladders and rewards for tenure and seniority.16/ The jobs filled in these kinds of firms are primarily restricted to the firm's exsisting workforce. Even the filling of jobs from the external market through apprentices, assistants or management development systems are all mechanisms of firms with internal labor markets. The presence of internal markets and hierarchical ladders tend to create different work experiences among the labor force in general.

At present, just over one-quarter or 26.5% of all white men in the labor force are either managers or have a professional specialty. Only about one of every eight, or 13.4% of black men are in these categories.17/ Just less than a quarter, or 20% of all white women working are managers or have a professional specialty, while only about one of every seven, or 15.3% of all black females working are in similar categories. It is possible that not all these jobs are in the independent primary segment but this segment does include many professional and technical jobs.

Workers in this segment tend to receive greater returns on education and experience substantial job mobility both within and between enterprises. About 70% of these independent primary workers are white males. The subordinate primary sector is made up of workers whose work involves routinized repetitive tasks. These workers hardly ever learn general skills and usually stay with a single firm or within a single industry. This sector includes many semiskilled, primary segment blue-collar jobs and many semiskilled white-collar jobs. Large numbers of women in the clerical sector fall into the subordinate primary grouping. Thirty percent of all working white women and 26% of all working black women are in administrative support work.18/

The secondary segment basically consists of jobs less attractive than

those in the primary segment and generally involves low wages, poor working conditions, considerable variability in employment, harsh and often arbitrary discipline and little opportunity to advance. Doeringer and Piore described this type of employment as follows:

> Employment in the secondary labor market fails to provide the kinds of job security, wages and working conditions required to stabilize the work relationship. This may occur because employers in the secondary sector cannot economically establish internal labor market conditions which are conducive to reducing turnover or because the technical aspects of the job are such that the reduction of turnover has little value to the employer. Second, the attitude and demographic traits of the secondary labor force may be such that workers place little value on job security in particular enterprises. These two explanations, while examined separately, are not independent. Unstable and undesirable jobs may encourage workers to place low value upon job security while a workforce prone to turnover may make the costs of reducing turnover prohibitively high.[19]

Black employment today is mainly concentrated in peripheral low-paying industries, many of which are located in decaying urban areas. Even the service occupations that have provided new employment opportunities for blacks in urban areas are firmly rooted in the secondary market. This holds true even when these jobs are within firms or businesses that offer primary segment employment. Jobs such as file clerks, janitors, secretaries, cleaning workers and hospital orderlies are all secondary jobs with little promotion possibility.

There are major differences between segments, and tests suggest that the segment in which an employee is employed is critical to understanding the forces affecting his or her earnings, and any potential income mobility.[20] The fact that blacks have not been able to gain access to various segments cannot be ascribed to only educational deficiency or lack of human capital. The median income of black males who had completed four years of college, and who worked full-time in 1980 was $17,861. This figure was $1,996 less than the median income of white males who only completed high school but had a median income of $19,857. Similarly, white college graduates had a median income of $26,139. Black males with four years of college had a median income that was only 68% of the median income of white male college graduates. Black male high school graduates had an annual median income of $15,658 or only 12% less than the annual median income of black male college graduates. By contrast, white male high school graduates had an annual median income that was 24% less than the white male college graduate.[21]

The picture is even worse for females in general. White female high school graduates had an annual median income in 1980 of $11,636 while black female high school graduates had an annual median income of $11,008. The income returns for college graduates were somewhat higher

for white females in that after four years of college, their annual median income was $16,441, compared to black female college graduates whose annual median income was $14,912. The picture that emerges is one in which white males at all levels of educational achievement have far higher incomes than both black males and females in general. These statistics show that certain higher income jobs are mainly the preserves of white males. Earlier on it was stated that white males made up 70% of the workers in the independent primary segment. Segmentation of labor markets and the inability of other groups to penetrate certain segments can be blamed not only for these income disparities, but for the racial differential in employment opportunity and stability.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There is no doubt that an overall recovery is underway from the recession in 1982 which catapulted unemployment rates to a post World War II high. Overall unemployment rates by December 1983 at 8.1% were far lower than the rate of 11.2% in the first quarter of 1983, and for any other month in between. However, the rate for blacks showed a slight rise in December over the preceding month. When examining individual age categories it is obvious that unemployment is a continuing problem for even older black teenagers 18-19. Black workers age 20-24 have only slightly better employment experiences than black teenagers and both groups are becoming relatively worse off when compared to their white counterparts. Older black workers are also losing ground to older white workers. Smaller and smaller percentages of blacks are finding work at any time and racial unemployment differentials not only show no sign of abating but are actually becoming greater. Black income still lags behind white income and one out of every three blacks is still in poverty, as compared to one out of every eight whites.

The administration's policy response to these economic conditions is to place a heavy reliance on the private sector to solve the problems of unemployment. It is obvious from an examination of programs such as the Job Training Partnership Act and the Job Corps that the administration does not have any strong commitment to training as a solution to the unemployment problem. Rather, it tends to blame social programs such as unemployment insurance, and legislation such as the minimum wage, as the main barriers to solving the unemployment problem. The administration feels that government interference in labor markets is actually a negative factor in solving labor market problems. The administration, obviously in its concern about inflation and its acceptance of an overall unemployment rate of 6 or 7% as the point at which inflation accelerates, has accepted high rates of black unemployment as the price for this inflation control. (Historically black unemployment has been just over twice as high as white unemployment). Labor force participation rates for all age groups of black male and female workers are falling further behind similar white age groups' labor force participation rates. Labor market segmentation and the denial of access to blacks to certain segments of that market, which pay higher incomes and have greater stability in employment, are generating even greater racial disparity in these areas.

Over the last 30 years recessions have become the norm in the American economy. What we have seen is a continuous deterioration in employment indicators for blacks. The number of black individuals in poverty has also increased. Obviously the long-run trends discovered from the data represent the emergence of an increasingly inhospitable climate for any overall black economic progress. Our data show quite clearly that in this "recovery period" blacks are recovering at an even slower rate than white. Given the assumption described above on the unemployment inflation threshold, and given the administration's determination to control inflation, and given also that the administration has no discernable employment or income policy, it now seems to be accepted in the formulation of public policy that blacks will continue to have an unemployment rate of 14% or more. It is interesting to note that from 1948 when unemployment statistics were first collected by race, black unemployment did not even approach 14% until 1981. Long-run trends based on data over 30 years can show no relief in sight. This last recession seems to be another nail in the coffin housing growing black/white employment differentials with blacks buried even deeper in this recovery period than they were before the recession started.

FOOTNOTES

1. Employment and Training Report of the President, 1982.

2. Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data.

3. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, October 1983.

4. Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data.

5. Quarterly Economic Reports Nos 6,7,8, 1983 - National Urban League.

6. Denys Vaughn-Cooke, "The Causes of Teenage Unemployment", unpublished paper, The Urban Institute, May 1980.

7. "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States", 1982, Bureau of the Census.

8. Economic Report of the President, 1983.

9. See the United States Budget FY-1984 and The New Jobs Training Act, Special Report, The National Urban League, 1982.

10. "The Reagan Experiment", The Urban Institute, September 1982.

11. Denys Vaughn-Cooke, "An Analysis of the Budget of the United States Government FY-1984", unpublished paper, The National Urban League Research Department, February 1983.

12. Robert B. Hill and Regina Nixon, "Youth Employment in Private Industry", unpublished monograph, National Urban League, 1984.

13. Bob Kuttner, "The Declining Middle", Atlantic Monthly, July 1983.

14. See Denys Vaughn-Cooke, "Blacks in Labor Markets - A Historical Assessment" in Urban League Review, Vol. 7 No. 2, Summer 1983, for a fuller discussion on blacks and labor market segmentation.

15. Robert J. Averitt, The Dual Economy-The Dynamics of American Industry Structure (New York: Norton, 1968).

16. For a discussion of internal labor markets see Richard C. Edwards, Michel Reid and David Jordan, "Division in the Labor Force" in Edwards, Reid and Weisskopf (eds), The Capitalist System (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972).

17. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, March 1983, 30(3), 51.

18. Ibid.

19. Peter B. Doeringer and Michael J. Piore, "Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis", in David M. Gordon (ed) Theories of Poverty and

Underemployment (Lexington, Mass: DC Heath and Company, 1972) p. 49.

20. Gordon et al, op cit, p. 210.

21. "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States", 1981, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census.

Table 1

Unemployment Rates and Unemployment Ratios
1955-1983 for male workers by race

	18-19 years			20-24 years			25-34 years			35-34 years			45-54 years			55-64 years		
	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratios
1955	12.9	10.4	1.2	12.4	7.0	1.8	8.6	2.7	3.2	8.2	2.7	3.2	6.4	2.9	2.2	9.0	3.9	2.3
1965	20.2	11.4	1.5	9.3	5.9	1.3	6.2	2.6	2	6.2	2.6	2.0	5.1	2.3	2.2	5.4	3.1	1.7
1975	32.9	17.2	1.9	22.9	13.2	1.7	11.9	6.3	1.9	11.9	6.3	1.9	9.0	4.4	.2	6.1	4.1	1.5
1982	47.4	21.1	2.2	32.0	15.3	2.1	19.6	10.4	1.9	19.6	10.4	1.9	10	6.3	1.6	11.9	5.8	2
1983	42.7	18.3	2.3	30.4	11.4	2.7	14.8	7.2	2.1	14.8	7.2	2.1	12.1	4.6	2.6	7.3	4.7	1.5

Source: Employment and Training Report of the President, 1982
1983 rates are from Employment and Earning, Bureau of Labor Statistics, November, 1983.

Table 2

Unemployment Rates and Unemployment Ratios
1955-1983 for Female workers by race

	18-19 years			20-24 years			25-34 years			34-35 years			45-54 years			55-64 years		
	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratio	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratios	Black	White	B/W Ratio
1955	21.4	7.7	2.8	13.0	5.1	2.5	10.2	4.3	2.4	5.5	3.8	1.4	5.2	3.4	1.4	5.5	2.2	2.5
1965	27.8	13.4	2.1	13.7	6.3	2.1	8.2	4.8	1.8	7.6	4.1	1.9	4.4	3.0	1.5	3.9	2.7	1.4
1975	38.3	16.1	2.4	22.5	11.2	2.0	12.9	8.5	1.5	8.6	6.6	1.3	6.7	5.8	1.2	5.3	5.1	1.0
1982	39.8	15.7	2.5	25.2	11.1	2.3	16.0	8.3	2.0	12.1	7.5	1.6	9.0	5.9	1.5	6.6	5.5	1.1
1983	56.1	14.9	3.8	32.5	9.6	3.4	18.6	7.1	2.6	10.1	5.2	2.0	9.7	5.0	2.0	7.8	4.0	2.0

Source: Employment and Training Report of the President, 1982
1983 rates are from Employment and Earning, Bureau of Labor Statistics, November, 1983.

Table 3

Labor Force Participation Rates of Males
from 1955-1983 by Age and Race

Year	Age 16-19		20-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
1955	75.7	71.7	89.7	86.4	95.8	97.5	96.2	98.2	93.2	96.8	83.1	89.2
1965	66.7	65.8	89.8	85.3	95.7	97.4	94.2	97.7	92	95.9	78.8	85.2
1975	57.5	72.8	78.4	85.5	9.4	95.8	90	96.4	84.6	92.9	69.7	76.5
*1983	50.2	69.3	77.1	85.0	87.1	95.4	90.7	96.0	83.9	92	63.5	69.9

Source: Employment and Training Report of the President, 1982
1983 rates from Employment and Earning, Bureau of
Labor Statistics, November, 1983.

Table 4

Labor Force Participation Rates of Females
from 1955-1983 by Age and Race

Year	Age 18-19		20-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64	
	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White
1955	43.2	52	46.7	45.8	51.3	32.8	56.0	39.9	54.8	42.7	40.7	31.8
1965	40	50.6	55.2	49.2	54	36.3	55.9	44.3	60.2	49.9	48.9	40.3
1975	45.1	60.4	56.2	65.4	61.4	53.5	61.7	54.9	56.8	54.3	43.8	40.7
*1983	41.4	61.5	57.6	72.8	72.4	69.9	73.9	69.1	61.8	63.4	45.5	41.7

Source: Employment and Training Report of the President, 1982
1983 rates from Employment and Earning, Bureau of
Labor Statistics, November, 1983.

TABLE 5

All Persons Below The Poverty Level

In 1982

by Age and Race

Age	Black	White
Under 3	51.5	18.4
3-5	47.7	19.2
6-13	48.0	17.1
14-15	44.0	15.3
16-21	39.3	13.0
22-44	27.3	10.1
45-54	21.9	7.9
55-59	30.3	7.8
60-64	26.8	9.6
65 & over	38.2	12.4

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 140.

TABLE 6

Median Family Income in 1982 and 1981 of all Families by Race

Region	1982			1981			Percent Change 1981-82 (in current dollars)	
All	Black	White	Black/ White	Black	White	Black/ White	Black	White
North East	14,735	25,815	.57	13,248	24,689	.54	4.8	-1.5
North Central	12,374	24,903	.50	14,837	23,886	.62	-21.4	-1.8
South	13,044	23,089	.56	12,283	22,051	.56	0.1	-1.3
West	16,508	25,249	.65	16,592	24,324	.68	-6.3	-2.2

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 140.

By Percentage

TABLE 7

Median Family Income in 1960 and 1970 to 1982

by Race

Year	Black	White	B/W Ratio
1960	3230	5835	.55
1970	6279	10236	.61
1971	6440	10672	.60
1972	6864	11549	.59
1973	7269	12595	.58
1974	8006	13408	.60
1975	8779	14268	.62
1976	9242	15537	.59
1977	9563	16740	.57
1978	10879	18368	.59
1979	11574	20439	.57
1980	12674	21904	.58
1981	13266	23517	.56
1982	13598	24603	.55

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 140.

TABLE 8

Median Income in 1982 and 1981 of all Males 15 Years Old and Over by Race

Region	1982 Black	1982 White	1982 Ratio	1981 Black	1981 White	1981 Ratio	Percent Change 1981-1982 (in 1982 dollars) Black	Percent Change 1981-1982 (in 1982 dollars) White
ALL	8,838	14,784	.60	8,501	14,296	.59	-2.0	-2.8
NorthEast	10,030	15,060	.67	9,281	14,646	.63	1.8	-3.1
North Central	10,966	14,898	.77	9,798	14,595	.67	5.5	-3.8
South	7,890	14,187	.56	7,825	13,388	.58	-5.0	-0.2
West	10,711	15,225	.70	10,717	15,152	.71	-5.8	-5.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 140.

TABLE 9

Median Income in 1982 and 1981 of All Females 15 years old and Over by Race

Region	1982 Black	1982 White	1982 Black/White	1981 Black	1981 White	1981 Black/White	Percentage 1981-82 (in 1982 dollars) Black	Percentage 1981-82 (in 1982 dollars) White
ALL	5,263	5,967	.88	4,903	5,519	.89	1.1	1.9
Northeast	6,036	5,988	1.0	5,431	5,502	.99	4.7	2.5
North Central	4,853	5,679	.85	5,333	5,252	.1	-9.0	8.1
South	4,797	5,889	.81	4,042	5,494	.74	18.7	7.2
West	7,098	6,583	1.1	7,063	5,891	1.2	-5.3	5.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 140.

TABLE 10

Median Income in 1982 and 1981 of All Males
Working Full-Time by Race

Region	1982 Black	1982 White	1982 Ratio	1981 Black	1981 White	1981 Ratio	Percentage Change 1981-1982 (in 1982 dollars) Black	Percentage Change 1981-1982 (in 1982 dollars) White
ALL	15,790	22,232	.71	14,984	21,178	.70	-0.7	-1.1
NorthEast	17,047	22,270	.77	14,768	21,165	.70	8.8	-0.9
North Central	20,146	22,483	.90	17,154	21,458	.80	4.8	-1.3
South	13,546	21,119	.64	13,204	20,054	.66	-3.3	-0.8
West	17,344	23,913	.73	17,561	22,547	.79	-6.9	-.01

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 140.

TABLE 11

Median Income in 1982 and 1981 of All Females
Working Year Round Full-Time by Race

Region	1982 Black	1982 White	1982 Ratio	1981 Black	1981 White	1981 Ratio	Percent Change 1981-1982 (in 1982 dollars) Black	Percent Change 1981-1982 (in 1982 dollars) White
ALL	12,376	13,847	.89	11,438	12,665	.90	2.0	3.0
NorthEast	13,204	14,219	.93	12,429	12,814	.97	.1	4.6
North Central	13,644	13,994	1.00	12,067	12,514	.96	6.5	2.4
South	11,612	13,190	.88	10,449	12,068	.87	4.7	3.0
West	15,426	14,894	1.00	13,352	14,266	.94	8.9	-1.6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 140.

THE HIGH-TECH REVOLUTION & ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR BLACK EMPLOYMENT

By

Charles L. Betsey and Bruce H. Dunson

I. INTRODUCTION

Robotics, computers, advanced electronics; the dawning of the "High-Tech" revolution has been heralded in many quarters as the shape of the future. That computers have become a daily part of many of our lives is evidenced by the widespread use of word processors, computer scanners in grocery and department stores--even the functioning of automobiles is increasingly computerized.

As computerized machinery has become more important to the functioning of most industries and businesses, there is a mounting concern about the pace of technological change and its impact on employment. Many have argued that the new high-tech industries are eliminating increasing numbers of jobs in other sectors, raising the skill level required to perform those jobs that remain, and may represent the main growth areas for employment over the forseeable future.[1/]

Some who view recent American economic history as an indication of the erosion of American dominance in worldwide markets for heavy industries such as automobiles and steel, are hopeful that high-tech exports will reverse the trends. Others see high-tech jobs as requiring substantial amounts of new capital and a highly skilled workforce, and believe that the growth of high-tech industries will contribute to even higher unemployment among the less skilled segments of the workforce.[2/]

While there has been a great deal written about the high-tech phenomenon very little has been done toward exploring the issue from a black perspective. In taking this approach, a few of the questions raised are: What changes will high-tech make in the lives of black Americans? What opportunities and barriers exist for blacks in high-tech? Is there a critical geographical mismatch between where blacks are located and where the growth in high-tech job opportunities is taking place?

II. THE CHANGING U.S. ECONOMY

Technological change is only one of several factors that have been associated with changes in the number and types of jobs in the U.S. economy over the past 30 to 50 years. Since the 1930s, the U.S. has experienced a shift from employment concentrated in goods-producing industries such as manufacturing, construction, mining, and agriculture, to employment in service-producing industries like wholesale and retail trade, communications, finance, and public administration. In 1929, 45% of the U.S. labor force was engaged in goods-producing employment; by 1977, goods-producing employment accounted for only 32% of jobs. Between 1948

and 1977, declines in manufacturing employment accounted for two-thirds of the jobs lost in goods-producing industries.[3]

Part of the relative shift to service employment is accounted for by a tremendous growth in the not-for-profit sector. In 1929 only 1 in 10 workers was employed by government or a private non-profit institution; in 1977 1 in 4 jobs were in the not-for-profit sector. For their part, blacks participated heavily in the post World War II growth of public sector employment. In 1950 they held about 8% of government jobs; in 1982 they held over 16%. Similarly, government employment has become increasingly important for the black community. Whereas government jobs employed only 8.5% of black workers in 1950, 22% of black employment during 1982 was with some level of government. Recent declines in the level of government employment, the first since World War II, have not substantially affected the number of blacks in government employment nationwide although at the federal level blacks accounted for one of every three persons laid off or downgraded as a result of retrenchment in the government workforce. At the same time, given the strained status of most government budgets at all levels, the government sector cannot provide the growth in employment opportunities that it did previously.[4]

Finally, the U.S. economy, one essentially self-sufficient, has become increasingly dependent on international trade. In 1970, foreign trade accounted for 7% of the gross national product (GNP); by 1979 it had grown to 15.4% of GNP, a significant share of which was petroleum-related. Whereas U.S. imports were once largely confined to low-priced articles of clothing, important imports now include automobiles, steel, machinery, and consumer electronic products.[5]

Thus, while technical change is probably a contributing factor to the changing employment picture, there are other important changes that have been occurring in the structure of the U.S. economy.

III. DISLOCATION DUE TO TECHNICAL CHANGE

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was considerable concern expressed about the pace of automation and technological change in the U.S., and its impact on employment. Some saw the real possibility that technical change would permanently displace large numbers of low-skilled and semi-skilled workers, especially in manufacturing, and argued for universal income maintenance programs and job training programs as a remedy for what came to be called "structural unemployment." [6]

Thus, the focus on technological change as a factor explaining unemployment is a recurrent theme. While some jobs went out of existence due to technological change in the late 1950s-early 1960s period, the economy also saw the beginning of a period of sustained prosperity and real economic growth during the Kennedy-Johnson era. The focus then turned from what could be seen as a concern for relatively well-paid, skilled workers towards the poor and economically disadvantaged whose problems are not solved by an economic upturn.

During a period of sluggish economic activity and high unemployment such as has existed in the U.S. over the 1970s and on into the 1980s there may be a tendency to mistakenly attribute to long-run structural change that which may be due only partly to structural change but also caused by cyclical factors. The current high rates of unemployment among skilled workers in manufacturing are probably the result of technological change, as well as import competition and the worst recession since World War II.

One recent study estimates that between 100,000 and 900,000 of the 6.4 million unemployed were unemployed more than eight weeks as of March 1980 because structural change (new technology and import competition) had permanently eliminated their jobs. Examining the characteristics of these "dislocated workers" shows that they were predominately white and male, had at least a high school education and an average age of 35.[7] (See Table 1) Most of those who might be considered dislocated workers were concentrated in five industries that have experienced declining employment: motor vehicle manufacturing, textiles, lumber and lumber products, steel production, and other manufacturing. Most lived in the older manufacturing regions of the industrial Northeast and Midwest. A disproportionate number of black workers are employed in these industries and region.

IV. HIGH-TECH JOB GROWTH

Another way to examine the implications of high-tech is to focus not on where jobs will be lost but on where jobs are expected to grow. In undertaking this endeavor, we first need a working definition of high-tech.

A popular notion is that high-tech industries primarily include industries such as computers, telecommunications and electronics. Although these industries are generally among those classified by experts as high-tech, there is in fact, no agreed-upon definition of what comprises the high-tech industries. The criteria generally used to classify high-tech industries fall under three definitions; 1) the level of research and development expenditures; 2) the use of scientific and technical personnel relative to total employment; and 3) a combination of the utilization of technology-oriented workers and research and development expenditures. Since the latter definition includes some of those industries that fall under both of the other two definitions, we used the third and broadest measure. Specifically, we classified industries as high-tech if the proportion of technology-oriented workers accounted for a proportion of total employment that was at least one and a half times the average for all industries, and if the ratio of research and development expenditures to net sales was at least twice the average for all industries. The definition that we chose is in fact similar to that used by Riche, Hecker and Burgan, in their article on high-technology.[8] However, we excluded industries for which information on the percentage of blacks employed was not available.[9]

Table 2 presents information on total and black employment in 1982 for our high-tech industries. What is clear from this table is that high-tech industries consumed a relatively small proportion of total em-

ployment in 1982. High-tech industries employed only 5% of all wage and salary workers in 1982. Black and other nonwhite workers represented about 11% of the 1982 high-tech workforce and high-tech employment accounted for about 1 in 20 jobs held by nonwhite workers.

Looking ahead to the next decade, the employment changes that high-tech industries will make in the lives of black people depends upon the growth of high-tech jobs and the share of total employment occupied by blacks.

Estimates of employment in 1995 for each of our high-tech industries was obtained from Bureau of Labor Statistics data. Assuming that black and other workers maintain the same share of jobs in high-tech industries in 1995 as in 1982 we estimated black employment for each high-tech industry. Obviously, the share of black employment in each of our high-tech industries could rise or fall over time. If this should occur, then our projected number of blacks employed in those industries would differ. Nevertheless, given the lack of projections by race, this is a reasonable method for estimating these numbers. Applying those proportions to the 1995 high-tech industry totals yields an estimate of the black employment in high-tech industries in 1995. Table 3 summarizes this information.

The evidence from Table 3 combined with data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics suggests the future of high-tech employment is expected to grow at a slightly faster rate than total wage and salary employment. The Bureau of Labor Statistics projections indicate that between 23.4 and 28.6 million new wage and salary jobs will be created between 1982 and 1995. We estimate that between one to two million of these jobs will be in high-technology industries. Growth in high-tech industries, as such, will account for approximately 8% of all new jobs.

Another way of considering the impact in the growth of high-tech jobs on black Americans is to look at the relative differences in the proportion of the black civilian labor force employed in high-tech industries relative to their white counterparts. Moreover, it is of some interest as to how those proportions might change over the next decade.

From Table 2 we obtained estimates of the total number of white and black wage and salary workers employed in high-tech industries. Both the actual size of the black and white civilian labor force in 1982 and the projected size in 1995 are available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. For whites in 1982, the labor force was 96,143,000 individuals while for blacks and others it was 14,062,000. The projected labor force in 1995 is 112,393,000 whites and 18,994,000 black and other individuals. Computing the proportion of black and white employment in high-tech industries we find that for both groups only 4% were so employed in 1982. However, by 1995, although small, a larger proportion of whites compared with blacks appear to be employed in high-tech. Our estimates indicate that by 1995 5% of the white civilian labor force will be employed in high-tech industries compared with 4% of the black and other labor force.

What do these statistics tell us? First, the great majority of Americans in the labor force, black and white, were not employed in high-

tech industries in 1982, and the situation will change little over the next decade. Second, this should not be interpreted as a significant problem since the great majority of new jobs will be in industries other than high-technology. Third, the proportions of the black and white civilian labor force in high-tech industries are moving in different directions. While, the relative percentage differences are small, the situation does however deserve careful monitoring. The final point to be made is that given the relatively small number of new jobs that will be created in high-tech industries over the next decade, high-tech does not appear to be the solution to the problems of displaced workers and others seeking jobs.

V. REGIONAL IMPACTS OF HIGH-TECH JOB GROWTH

Although our national estimates suggest that high-tech will not have a significant impact on the lives of black Americans nationwide, this does not necessarily hold true for certain areas of the country. To investigate the question of whether a regional mismatch exists between the areas where blacks reside and where high-tech job growth will occur, we compared 1980 employment data for blacks in the ten states with the highest levels of high-technology employment.(See Table 4)

If we consider all black workers in 1980, we find that the states with the largest employment in high-tech as of 1982 contained a substantial proportion of the black civilian labor force. As a group, the ten states in Table 4 accounted for approximately 40% of the black employed. There were obviously differences by state, ranging from less than 1% in Massachusetts to 8% in New York. What these numbers indicate is that substantial numbers of employed blacks already reside in states where the vast majority of high-tech jobs are located. At the same time, however, a different type of regional mismatch might occur if high-tech jobs and blacks are distributed differently within high-tech states.

VI. THE SUBURBANIZATION OF JOBS--ONCE AGAIN?

John Kain in his seminal article "Housing Segregation, Negro Employment and Metropolitan Decentralization"[10/] makes two major points: 1) that geographic constraints on the residential choices of black households will reduce their employment opportunities and real incomes; and 2) that further job dispersal, combined with continued racial segregation can only make matters worse. The basis for these conclusions is the observation that if there is a greater demand for labor and higher wages at central city work places than in surburbs, white workers may move to those neighborhoods and accept those jobs with no transportation cost penalty. On the other hand, if better job opportunities are available in the suburbs, whites can similarly move to neighborhoods near those jobs. In contrast, similar choices are not available to the vast majority of blacks. If jobs are more plentiful and higher paying in the surburbs, black workers, in general, can hold them only by accepting large travel costs. The net hourly wage they receive from those suburban jobs, (that is, earnings per week minus transportation costs divided by hours spent working plus hours spent commuting), will in general be lower than that received by white

workers who can obtain suburban housing near their workplace.[11]

In addition to the work by Kain, recent developments in the area of labor economics would suggest that the costs of searching for and locating a job could perhaps make the costs of obtaining a job some distance from one's residence prohibitively expensive. For example, if an individual's information concerning job opportunities decreases with distance from his or her residence at the same time as the transportation costs are increasing, at some point a job search in certain locations would no longer be an economically viable option.

These considerations are important for the simple reason that high-technology can have a large impact on a local economy, just as the introduction of any new facility into an area would have. At the same time that blacks live within an SMSA, if they do not live near the high-tech jobs they are less likely to find employment in high-tech industries and thus cannot participate in the expanding economy. For example, the Route 128 area in suburban Massachusetts and New Hampshire has in a very short period of time developed as a local industrial base built on high technology industries. The vast majority of blacks that live and work in the Boston SMSA, however, live and work in the central city. Of the 48,801 blacks that reported place of work, 32,925 or 67% worked in the central city. Moreover, a significant proportion of blacks (38%) in the Boston SMSA use public transportation for their journey to work thus severely limiting their ability to commute to Route 128.[12]

To further investigate whether there is the potential for benefit from high-tech job growth, or whether a potential local geographical mismatch exists, data on the distribution of high technology in three states--California, Michigan and Texas were examined.

This information is presented in Table 5 for high-tech industries as defined by Riche, Hecker and Burgan. As they reported, most employment is located in the largest metropolitan areas. The top five areas in each of the three states accounted for between 74.6 to 91.2% of the high-tech jobs, depending on the state. Nonagricultural employment in these metropolitan areas accounted for from 63.7 to 74.2% of all employment in each state. Thus, the distribution of high-tech employment within the three states they observed appears to be geographically concentrated.[13]

Furthermore, Table 6 presents information on selected SMSAs within each of these three states. The information in this table is rather revealing. First, the majority of blacks within an SMSA reside in the central cities. The numbers ranged from a low of 63% in San Francisco to a high of 89% in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Moreover, with the exception of those blacks living in the San Jose metropolitan area, the majority of blacks in the selected SMSAs presented in Table 6 also work in the central city.

The conclusion from this analysis of regional and local data on high-tech jobs is two fold. First, if we look at where the high-tech jobs are located and where blacks primarily live and work, the majority are not located in high-tech states. This is true whether we choose the top ten

states by total employment in high-tech or by high-tech employment growth as a percentage of total nonagricultural employment growth. Equally important, however, is that a significant proportion of the employed black civilian labor force is located in high-tech states. Over 40% of employed blacks lived in the ten most important high-tech states.

The second major point to surface from this analysis is that the possibility does exist that blacks within these high-tech states will miss whatever employment opportunities there may be associated with these high-tech industries. The conditions that led Kain to conclude that the constraints on the residential choices of black households act to reduce their employment opportunities continue to exist. Our analysis showed that in the selected SMSAs in three high-tech states the majority of blacks with few exceptions, live and work within the central city. If the locational patterns of high-tech firms in the Boston SMSA are typical for these industries, the geographical mismatch of blacks and jobs discussed by Kain in 1968 will follow us into the 1990s.

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The "high-tech revolution" is more an evolution. New types of machinery, new production techniques, and new products that incorporate electronic equipment are increasingly becoming a part of our lives. It appears that over the next decade these new products will not directly displace many jobs, nor offer a great many new job opportunities.

At the same time, other changes have been occurring over a number of years that will continue to transform the nature of jobs available. The shift from a goods-producing to a service-producing economy will continue. Yet, the growth in the government sector that was responsible for much of the shift experienced since World War II was reversed in 1981. Government employment nationwide will probably show only minimal growth over the next several years. U.S. purchases of imported goods at both the low and high ends of the income distribution contribute to a shrinking employment base in many industries and regions.

In the past decade the educational attainment of the black population has increased significantly. Among blacks age 25 and over, more than half the population had completed a high school diploma in 1981 compared to only one-third who had done so in 1970 (Table 7). High school dropout rates for black youth have continued to decline, but in October 1981 10.2% of black youths age 14 to 19 were not enrolled in school compared to 8.7% of white youth.[14]

While black college enrollment and graduation have increased, blacks are concentrated in education and the social sciences; in 1978-79, 40% of all black degree recipients were in these disciplines (Table 8). This concentration of field of study helps to explain the fact that black college graduates were disproportionately concentrated in public administration in 1970 compared to whites. Black college graduates were one and one-half times more likely than whites to be employed in public administration, while white college graduates were more than twice as likely to be employed in manufacturing.

A recent report of the National Commission for Employment Policy states:

> When the average high school graduate can expect 50 productive years in the labor market, the best hope for a flexible labor market is to make sure graduates have the basic skills that complement the specific training they will get on the job.[15]

We must find ways to assure that black youth complete the training (both in-school and out-of-school) that will make it possible to obtain such skills.

As the average level of educational attainment of the general population continues to increase, we must assure access to quality education at all levels. Sound preparation in mathematics, science, and language skills is increasingly essential if black youth are to be competitive in the workplace. In addition, a continued effort to encourage and support minority youth to pursue scientific and technical careers is needed.

Finally, every effort to assure that blacks have equal access to new and existing jobs should be made. Discrimination in housing, like employment discrimination, acts to unduly restrict the opportunities blacks have to earn a living. Efforts to provide blacks access to non-central city job locations must encompass not only efforts to restructure mass transit systems to make it possible for "reverse commuting", but must also include the vigorous enforcement of laws that prohibit discrimination in housing as well as employment.[16]

FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example D. Tomaskovic-Devey and S. M. Miller, "Can High-Tech Provide the Jobs?", Challenge, May-June, 1983; E. Applebaum, "Winners and Losers in the High-Tech Workplace," Challenge, September-October 1983.

2. R. Reich, The Next American Frontier, New York Times Book Co., 1983; B. Bluestone and B. Harrison, The Deindustrialization of America, Basic Books, 1982.

3. C.L. Betsey, "The Internationalization of American Industry: Its Impact Upon Low-Skilled and Minority Workers," Adherent, March 1982.

4. Minority Participation in the Public Sector, The Urban Institute, November 1982.

5. "Black America is in a State of Crisis," Black Enterprise, January 1984, pp. 28-39.

6. For an analysis of the impact of technological change on the economy, as of the early 1960s, see National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress, Technology and the American Economy, Volume 1, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

7. M. Bendick Jr., and J.R. Devine, "Workers Dislocated by Economic Change: Do They Need Federal Employment and Training Assistance?", National Commission for Employment Policy, Seventh Annual Report, U.S. Government Printing Office, October 1981.

8. R. Riche, D. Hecker and J. Burgan, "High Technology Today and Tomorrow: A Small Slice of the Employment Pie," Monthly Labor Review, November 1983.

9. Unpublished Bureau of Labor Statistics Data.

10. John F. Kain, "Housing Segregation, Negro Employment, and Metropolitan Decentralization," The Quarterly Journal of Economics (May 1968) pp. 175-97.

11. Ibid 10

12. Computed from information in 1980 census of Population and Housing. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. According to Census Bureau data for 1972, blacks spend an average of 39 hours per week more time commuting to work than other workers. The primary reason blacks spend more travel time is because of their heavier reliance on public transportation: 16 percent of blacks used public transportation to journey to and from work compared to only 5 percent of all other workers. As reported in Black Enterprise, January 1984, p. 27.

13. Ibid 8

14. Current Population Report, Series p. 20, No. 373, Table 6.

15. National Commission for Employment Policy, Seventh Annual Report, p. 41.

16. Culp, Jerome M., and Dunson, Bruce H., "Brothers of a Different Color: A Preliminary Look at Employer Treatment of White and Black Youth," paper presented at the Conference on Inner City Black Youth Unemployment, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1983.

TABLE 1

Personal Characteristics of Dislocated Workers, March 1980

Age		Previous Year's Income	
22-39	68.1%	Less than $10,000	55.0%
40-59	27.5%	10,000 - 19,999	34.4%
60-64	4.4%	20,000 - Above	9.1%

Education	
Less Than High School Graduate	35.1%
High School Graduate	47.6%
Beyond High School	17.3%

Race/Ethnicity	
Black	19.0%
Hispanic	7.0%
Other	2.6%
White	71.4%

Sex	
Male	68.8%
Female	31.2%

Source: M. Bendick and J.R. Devine, "Workers Dislocated by Economic Change."

TABLE 2

Actual Total and Black Employment in High-Tech Industries, 1982

Industry	Total	Black and Other
Industrial Inorganic Chemicals	153,500	19,034
Plastic Materials & Synthetics	182,699	29,415
Drugs	199,799	22,377
Soaps, Cleaners & Toilet	145,299	20,778
Paints and Allied Products	59,699	7,761
Industrial Organic Chemicals	174,300	21,613
Agricultural Chemicals	67,099	12,480
Miscellaneous Chemical Products	91,500	8,418
Petroleum Refining	168,999	20,449
Ordinance & Accessories	71,400	5,355
Engines & Turbines	114,800	6,773
Office, Computing and Accounting Machines	489,699	78,842
Radio and TV Receiving Equipment & Communication Equipment	650,298	80,637
Electronic Components & Accessories	568,700	66,538
Miscellaneous Electrical Machinery	141,299	15,825
Aircraft and Parts	611,800	60,568
Engineering, Laboratory, Scientific & Research Instruments & Measuring & Controlling Instruments	320,000	25,600
Surgical, Medical & Dental Instruments	160,399	16,682
Photographic Equipment & Supplies	138,299	14,245
Computer and Data Processing Services	357,500	30,745
TOTAL HI-TECH	4,867,088	564,135

Source: Unpublished data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics Office of Economic Growth and Employment Projections and Data from Employment and Earnings, January 1983

TABLE 3

Projected Total and Black Employment in High-Tech Industries, 1995

Industry	Total	Black and Other
Industrial Inorganic Chemicals	155,690	19,306
Plastic Materials & Synthetics	239,870	38,619
Drugs	279,769	31,334
Soaps, Cleaners & Toilet	176,300	25,211
Paints and Allied Products	69,700	9,061
Industrial Organic Chemicals	222,930	27,643
Agricultural Chemicals	86,989	16,180
Miscellaneous Chemical Products	119,539	10,998
Petroleum Refining	137,050	16,583
Ordinance & Accessories	85,420	6,407
Engines & Turbines	167,370	9,875
Office, Computing and Accounting Machines	762,519	122,766
Radio and TV Receiving Equipment & Communication Equipment	780,820	96,822
Electronic Components & Accessories	849,769	99,423
Miscellaneous Electrical Machinery	187,860	21,040
Aircraft and Parts	692,090	68,517
Engineering, Laboratory, Scientific & Research Instruments & Measuring & Controlling Instruments	448,200	35,856
Surgical, Medical & Dental Instruments	271,999	28,288
Photographic Equipment & Supplies	175,860	18,114
Computer and Data Processing Services	703,960	63,356
TOTAL HI-TECH	6,613,704	765,397

Source: Unpublished data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics Office of Economic Growth and Employment Projections and data from Employment and Earnings, January 1983.

TABLE 4

Black Employment In 1980 In 10 States With Highest Levels of High-Technology Employment

States	Employed Blacks	Employed Blacks As A Proportion of National Black Labor Force (Percent)
California	679,044	6 %
New York	876,036	8 %
Texas	671,894	6 %
New Jersey	343,469	3 %
Massachusetts	84,876	.78 %
Pennsylvania	339,345	3 %
Illinois	550,464	5 %
Ohio	378,418	3 %
Connecticut	85,648	.79 %
Florida	497,197	5 %

Source: The 10 states were taken from Table 6 in Riche, Hecker and Burgan, "High Technology Today and Tomorrow: A Small Slice of the Employment Pie." The statistics on black employment are from the 1980 census of Population and Housing U.S. Dept. of Commerce. Advance Estimates of Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics.

TABLE 5

Geographical Distribution of High Tech Employment
and Total Employment In Three States,
September 1982

State	SMSA	Number of High-Tech Employees (000s)	Area Share of State's High-Tech Jobs	Area Share of State's Total Jobs
California, total		930.0		
Top 5 areas, total		848.4	91.2	71.9
	Los Angeles	365.0	39.2	10.4
	San Jose	227.7	24.5	32.7
	Anaheim	121.3	13.0	14.4
	San Francisco	67.4	7.2	4.3
	San Diego	67.0	7.2	10.1
Texas, total		362.3		
Top 5 areas, total		286.3	79.0	42.0
	Dallas	140.9	38.9	9.1
	Houston	86.9	24.0	5.5
	Beaumont	24.0	6.6	16.2
	Austin	21.6	6.0	8.1
	San Antonio	12.9	3.6	3.1
Michigan, total		118.4		
Top 5 areas, total		88.3	74.6	33.9
	Detroit	48.1	40.6	3.1
	Grand Rapids	15.8	13.3	6.0
	Kalamazoo	10.6	9.0	10.0
	Ann Arbor	9.5	8.0	7.2
	Muskegon	4.3	3.6	7.6

Source: Authors' computations from data in Table 5 in "High Technology Today and Tomorrow: A Small Slice of the Employment Pie", Monthly Labor Review, November 1983, pp. 50-58.

TABLE 6

Selected Social and Labor Force Characteristics of Black Persons in Various SMSAs, 1980

SMSA	Black Population	Percent Residing in Central City	Percent of Labor Force Working in Central City	Percent Who Use Public Transportation
San Francisco-Oakland	391,214	63%	62%	25%
San Jose	43,715	67%	37%	6%
Houston	528,513	83%	85%	9%
Detroit	890,417	85%	62%	14%
Grand Rapids	32,092	89%	64%	7%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population and Housing.

TABLE 7

Percent of Persons 25 Years Old and Over Who Had Completed Four Years of High School or More 1970, 1981

	1970	1981
All Races	55.2	69.7
Male	55.0	70.3
Female	55.4	69.1
Black	33.7	52.9
Male	32.4	53.2
Female	34.8	52.6
White	57.4	71.6
Male	57.2	72.1
Female	57.6	71.2

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Profile of the U.S.; 1981, No. 374, 1982.

TABLE 8

Black College Degree Recipients in Various Fields, 1978-79

	Number	Black Percent of Total
Computer and Information Sciences	547	4.8
Education	22,959	9.4
Engineering	2,021	11.4
Mathematics	736	4.7
Physical and Biological Sciences	3,576	3.9
Social Sciences	9,918	8.0
All Fields	80,790	6.5

Source: Digest of Education Statistics, 1982 U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics.

A PROFILE OF THE BLACK SINGLE FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLD

By
James D. McGhee

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper represents an attempt to provide a profile of black female-headed households with no husband present. We have chosen to concentrate on this specific group because of its rapid growth over the past decade and its close association with disadvantagement and poverty. In 1970, 66% of black families were married couples and about 31% were headed by females with no husband present. By 1980, the percentage of black married couple families had decreased to 54% and female headed families with no husband present had increased to 42% (Table 1). This decrease in married couple families and increase in families headed by black females represents an ominous trend for the black family and along with the rising divorce rate and the large number of pregnancies among black teenagers will only lead to further growth in the proportion of black families headed by females.

The increasing number of black families headed by women has been cited by researchers and policy makers as the basis for the increasing levels of poverty to be found among blacks and for the failure of blacks as a group to progress economically to a greater extent than they have. It is true that black female-headed households have the lowest median income of any family type. In 1980, the median income of such families was $7,425 while for white female-headed families it was $11,908. In comparison, the median income for white married couple families with the wife not in the paid labor force was $19,430, which represents a considerable difference between these families, not just in money but also in lifestyle (Table 2). For example, the higher income of the white male-headed family can make the difference between whether or not a child can go to college or a family member can secure needed medical treatment. But the growing number of black families headed by women is cited by some observers as if it somehow explains why blacks are poorer than whites and why they are more vulnerable to shifts in the economic winds. It is almost as if these observers propose that black families headed by females are subject to some inexorable law of nature that dictates that the heads of such families will be poor and their children disadvantaged, and that this same law does not apply to other blacks and other females.

On the contrary, however, single females who head families are poor for the same reasons that any one else may be poor. That is, they lack education or salable job skills, or they are the victims of racism and/or sexism. It is not enough just to cite the gender and the marital status of the family head as an explanation for their poverty. Further analysis is necessary if we are to gain an understanding of why this group seems to be particularly prone to poverty.

At least part of the explanation for the relative poverty of this group lies in their heightened vulnerability to those factors that are so closely associated with poverty in this society: being non-white, being

female and giving birth at an early age. A more detailed explanation follows:

- Black female-headed households are vulnerable to poverty because they are black and suffer the same disadvantages that all blacks suffer as a result of historical and contemporary racial prejudice. These include the familiar litany of poor schools, lowered expectations, and restricted job opportunities.

- They are vulnerable because they are women and in addition to the effects of racial prejudice, they suffer from the same disadvantages as all women as a result of sexism.

- Finally, they are vulnerable because they can and often do bear children early and the presence of children only adds further complications to their lives. Children are not only expensive to support but they make it more difficult for the woman to marry again because fewer men may be willing to assume the responsibility for both a wife and a family at the same time.

The combination of these vulnerabilities contributes to the high rate of poverty among single female-headed households, but again, more information is needed if we care to gain further understanding of the phenomenon. Fortunately, there are data that can contribute to an explanation. In 1979 and 1980 the National Urban League conducted a nation-wide survey of black households which was called the Black Pulse. Funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Black Pulse was an hour-long, in-person interview of 3,000 black heads of household which covered a variety of topics ranging from personal income to informal support structures in the black community.

The importance of this data base for the current discussion, however, is that it contains a wealth of information about black heads of household of all marital circumstances and income levels, and over two-thirds (69%) of those interviewed were female. Thus, within the total sample we have over 1100 black female-heads of household with no husband present which is a large enough sample to allow detailed examination of that group and of various sub-groups within it. Such an examination will provide a rare glimpse of how such households live their lives. We must also point out that much of the Black Pulse data are unique to that survey and, therefore, are not available for other racial and ethnic groups. For this reason, in many cases where comparisons might be called for, they are not possible.

II. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Family Background

Although they themselves were single heads of household, more than half of our sample (55%) were raised primarily in two-parent families and cannot be said to be carrying on a tradition of single parentage. On the other hand, nearly one in every three (31%) were raised by a single parent

-- 26% by the mother alone and 5% by the father alone -- so about one out of four did come from single parent homes. Most of the remaining household heads were raised by other family members such as grandparents (8%) or aunts and uncles (3%). Finally, only about 4% were raised by non-family members or in unspecified "other" circumstances.

Marital Status

In 1980 about one out of every five (22%) black female household heads interviewed in the Black Pulse survey had never been married while over two out of five (43%) were either separated (23%) or divorced (20%). Nearly one-third of the single female household heads had been widowed, and a small proportion (3.5%) were in fact married but their husbands were not living at home for some reason other than separation or divorce (Table 3).

The high rate of separation and divorce in these families is mirrored by U.S. Census Bureau data for the last few decades. In fact, the rate of divorce for all married persons has been rising dramatically since 1960, increasing by 178% for whites and by 226% for blacks (Table 4). Unfortunately, financial difficulties are generally thought to be both a cause and a result of divorce, so the deep recession that black Americans continue to experience can only exacerbate what is already a serious problem. When maintenance of a decent family income depends upon both heads of household bringing home a weekly pay check, as is the case in many black families, then, the loss of employment by one of the heads of household places enormous strain on the family, emotionally as well as financially. The loss of financial stability and the damage to self esteem resulting from continued inability to find employment contribute to the high rates of divorce and separation in the black family. It is ironic that separation and divorce, which are often the result of financial problems, frequently lead to even graver financial difficulties, especially for women whose median income is significantly lower than that of men but who, nevertheless are often the sole source of income for their families.

Respondent's Education

Well over half (59%) of our sample of female household heads had not completed high school in 1980, a figure which helps explain some of the difficulties they had experienced in the job market and helps account for their relative poverty. It is difficult for anyone to get a job without a high school diploma and this is as true for female household heads as it is for anyone else. On the other hand, this group showed a wide range of educational achievement. Twenty-six percent had graduated from high school, and over 17% had at least attended college although only about 3% had completed four full years (Table 5).

Religious Affiliation

Seventy-six percent of single female household heads said they belonged

to a church, and nearly one-half (48%) said they attended church once a week or more while 19% said they attended at least once a month. Only 6% said they never attended church, so religion and the church are still major factors in the lives of these heads of household. The majority (57%) of our sample were Baptist, perhaps reflecting the southern origins of so many black families, while 10% were Methodist and about 7% were Catholic.

Political Participation

Seventy-one percent of our sample said they were registered to vote where they were currently living in 1980. Of these, the overwhelming majority (86%) were registered as Democrats and 9% as independents. Republicans ran a distant third at 4%. So this sub-group does not differ significantly from blacks as a whole in terms of their political participation.

III. EMPLOYMENT

About two out of every five (41%) female-heads of household in our sample were employed, while nearly three out of five were not. Of those who were working, almost a third (32%) worked for some level of government, either federal or state and local and nearly two-thirds (64%) worked in the private sector (Table 6). Of those who were not working, nearly one-fourth were looking for work and could possibly be counted among the unemployed.[1/] On the other hand, over three-fourths were not looking for work, and, therefore, could not be counted as unemployed (Table 7).

Perhaps, the most significant findings here are the facts that (1) not all black families headed by females were on welfare but, in fact, two out of five were actually employed, and (2) the extent to which government contributes to the employment of black female-heads of household. If nearly a third are employed by government, then any cut-back in the level of government will necessarily result in unemployment for some of these household heads, and this is exactly what has happened in the three years since the Black Pulse Survey was conducted.

Under the Reagan Administration, CETA has been eliminated and the levels of employment by the federal government and by state and local governments have been reduced. Such cut-backs have had a direct adverse effect on the black family in general, and on the group which is the subject of this discussion - the black female-headed family.[2/]

The advocates of such reductions in funding and employment by government claim they result in tax savings, and that is true. But the savings are not nearly as great as is claimed, because as employment is reduced, other costs rise as a result. For example, it has been estimated that each percentage point of unemployment costs the economy over a billion dollars in other expenses such as unemployment insurance payments,

lost production and lost income taxes. In the case of female-headed households, many of which live near the edge of poverty already, increases in welfare, food stamp, and medicare costs which inevitably result from a rise in unemployment must be factored in as well.[3]

Householders Not Looking For Work

While over 40% of our sample of female household heads were employed, nearly 60% of them were not and, of those who were not working, over three-fourths (77%) were not looking for work. When asked why, over one-half of these heads of household cited their health as the reason (Table 8). While this sub-group (female-heads of household who were not working and not looking for work because of their health) only amounts to 15% of the total sample of single black female household heads, these data indicate that medical problems may be a significant factor contributing to the lack of employment in this group.

The second most frequent reason for not looking for work, cited by 12% of this group, were the child care responsibilities of the head of household. Over half of all the households in our sample contained children.

If they were young children, the complexities of finding and arranging child care and the expense it represents make it very difficult and in some cases economically impractical for the parent to work. The issue of child care in the black female-headed family is also discussed more fully in the following sections.

Personal Health

While the number of female household heads who were not employed and not looking for work because of their personal health was somewhat startling, it can be better understood in light of responses to a subsequent question about the specific health problems experienced by members of the household.

High blood pressure was cited as a health problem in over two out of every five (43%) female-headed households in our sample and diabetes was the next most frequently named problem, being present in 13% of the households (Table 9). These rates of incidence are considerably higher than those reported from most other sources, but that is because the Black Pulse asked about persons in the household, and most other sources of data on health report on individual persons.

Nevertheless, the rates of incidence of hypertension and diabetes are much higher for all blacks than they are for whites. The National Center for Health Statistics reports that from 1976 to 1980, nearly one in every four blacks above 25 years of age suffered from hypertension, while the rate for whites was considerably less at 13%. In the case of diabetes, blacks in 1980, had a rate of 58 per thousand while whites had a rate of 35 per thousand.[4] The Black Pulse data reinforce these figures but also serve to focus attention on a particular sub-group -- female-headed households -- where the incidence of these diseases may be even higher

than for blacks in general. Nearly 19% of these households cited other unspecified health problems that had occurred over the past year and, finally, 3% named sickle cell anemia as a health problem in their households.

IV. SOURCES OF INCOME

The families in our sample displayed a wide range of income sources in the 12 months prior to the Black Pulse survey, Over one-half (52%) had received income from wages, salaries, commissions or self employment, while only 5% had received unemployment benefits, so unemployment compensation was not a major source of income for these families (Table 10). Nevertheless, the fact that over half the female-headed households in our sample had received income from salaries or wages at some time during the previous year, but that only 41% were employed at the time of the survey is evidence of the irregular nature of employment available to these heads of household.

Earnings

It is important to note here that all single female-heads of household are not poor. On the contrary, many enjoy regular full-time employment and are perfectly capable of providing adequate support for themselves and their families, even with no other source of income than their salary.

Of the 41% of our sample who were working, 15% earned $300 or more per week in 1980, which amounted to a gross income of about $15,000 per year. Depending on the size of the family, this income is not lavish, but is probably adequate for basic needs.

But, the great majority of these households are poor. Of the 41% who were working, 60% earned less than $200 dollars per week in 1980, which amounts to less than $10,400 per year before taxes and other deductions. At the very bottom of the income scale, 17% of these heads of household earned less than $100 per week in 1980 (Table 11). In comparison, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, the median pre-tax income of all families in 1980 was $21,023 per year and for black families it was $12,674. Thus, these families are generally poor even relative to other black families. Finally, the median income in 1980 for black families headed by women was only $7,425 per year (Table 12), and the poverty rate for all black female households with no husband present was 45%. In that same year, the poverty threshold for a family of three persons, two of whom were children, was a yearly income of only $6,635. Clearly, then, the great majority of these families lived in conditions of serious poverty, even when the head of household was employed.

Welfare

As would be expected, a second major source of income for black female-headed families was welfare. Over 38% of those interviewed had received income from welfare payments in the year preceeding the survey, while only 15% of all other families interviewed had received welfare

during that period. The heavy reliance on welfare as a source of income is another indicator of the poverty in which these families live. But the fact that fewer than two out of five of one of the poorest groups in the country had been on welfare at all, belies the popular conception of the black female-headed family as being primarily dependent on welfare.

A large percentage of them were dependent, but an even larger percentage had worked during the year and had not received welfare. The picture that emerges from these data is one of female household heads moving in and out of employment as jobs become more or less available. When jobs are unavailable and when unemployment benefits run out, if indeed they were ever eligible for them, then welfare provides an alternative source of income. It was not, however, a way of life for the majority of these families.

Alimony and Child Support

Only about one in every ten female household heads cited alimony or child support as a source of income during the year preceeding the survey. We have already seen that one-half of our sample of household contained children of school age, so there are obviously many families with children whose fathers do not contribute to their support -- at least not monetarily. This circumstance, doubtlessly, contributes to the poverty that these families and the children who live in them experience.

There are, no doubt, numerous reasons for this apparent failure of so many black fathers to contribute to the support of their women and children. The list of possible reasons is a long one but ultimately, there is only one acceptable excuse and that is that the father has no money.

And by "no money" we do not mean no surplus after other expenses have been paid. It is certain that many of the fathers of children in households headed by women are unable to contribute to their support because they do not have jobs. We are keenly aware of the high rate of unemployment among black men. But far too many fathers are apparently willing to allow the mothers of their children to assume the entire burden of child rearing and, therefore, to allow their children to be raised in poverty. If because of divorce or separation or for any other reason the father cannot be physically present to help raise his children, then the very least he can do is to shoulder some of the financial burden. When over 50% of black female-headed households have young children and only 10% receive alimony or child support, it is clear that many black fathers are not even doing that.

Expenditures for Shelter and Food

Only about 19% of all black female household heads in our sample lived in public housing in 1979. The rest either rented housing on the open market or owned their homes or apartments. Those who rented housing paid an average of $134 dollars per month for rent which over a year, would amount to a total of $1,608 for shelter alone. This was slightly less than rent cost for all other black households which was $146 per month in

1979, but it was still a substantial portion of the total income for most of these families. (Table 13)

We also asked these householders about their weekly food expenditures for the previous year, and these amounted to an average of $51 dollars per week or about $2,652 dollars per year in 1979. Thus, the average black female-headed household in our sample spent approximately $4,260 dollars on food and shelter alone in 1979. It will be remembered from our previous discussion that only 41% of these family heads were working at all and of those who were working 60% earned less than $10,400 per year out of which all family expenses had to be paid.

It is certain that some of these families benefitted from subsidized rent programs and some had access to food stamps, nevertheless, their expenditure for food and shelter alone amounted to a significant proportion of their total yearly income. This would leave very little for other essentials such as clothing and transportation not to mention reserves for emergencies such as losses due to criminal activity or accidents. These data dramatically illustrate the poverty in which most of these families live. And since 44% of black children lived in female-headed households in 1980, the effects of such poverty will continue to be felt, though the next generation and beyond.[5/]

V. CHILDREN IN FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

Since one-half of all such households in our sample contained children under 14 years of age, one of the most important issues with which a single female household head must deal is that of child care. If the parents of those children are to be employed, then some provision must be made for child care in the mornings and evenings for school-aged children and all day for children of pre-school age.

When the female heads of household who had children were asked if they needed daily child care, 30%, or nearly one-third answered, yes. This amounts to over 15% of the entire sample of black female-headed households. When asked why they needed child care, the overwhelming majority (78%) said it was needed to allow them to work, while 37% said it was needed to allow them to attend school. (It was possible for the same respondent to cite more than one reason for needing child care.) Of those who said they needed child care services, however, only 66% said that they actually used those services. This indicates that there may be unfulfilled need for such services that those in the black community families can afford, but the specific reason for their non-use of child care services could not be determined. (Table 14)

School Attendance of Children

Forty-four percent of the single female-headed households in our sample contained children in grades 1 through 12. Of those households containing school-aged children, 42% had only one child and 70% had two or fewer children currently living there. Conversely, 56% of the single female-headed households contained no school-aged children at all.

Clearly, then the stereotype of the single black female-headed household as one consisting of a woman with many children is just that, a stereotype with little factual basis. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of these households did contain children and they need to be discussed.

As is true for other types of black families, the overwhelming majority (85%) of children from families headed by single black females attended public school, while only about 5% attended private religious schools. The figures for all other black families were 93% and 7.1%, respectively. (Table 15) Given the financial plight in which many of these families find themselves it is not surprising that so few have children in private schools. However, the data do serve to emphasize the importance of the public schools to the children of single black females and to all black families. Education is the most accessible path to advancement for most black Americans and because public education is financed out of tax revenues, it requires a minimal additional expenditure by the household. It is therefore, even more important for poor families to have access to quality public schools because they usually do not have the option of sending their children to private schools.

Parental Involvement in Education

The parents in our sample were involved in the education of their children --- a finding which is contrary to the stereotype of the single parent home. Nearly 40% of the single female parents interviewed said that they were members of the PTA or other parent groups at the school their children attended and nearly half (40%) had visited the school for a PTA meeting. Over half (55%) had visited their children's school for a special school activity and about the same proportion (53%) had visited because of grades (Table 16).

While these data present a picture of considerable parental involvement in the education of the child still, for such an important area of life, even greater involvement would probably generate better educational results. For example, only about 40% of parents in our sample had visited their childs school for parent-teacher conferences. Such conferences are crucial if the teacher is to understand the expectations of the parent and the kind of environment from which the child comes, and if the parent is to understand the expectations of the teacher and monitor the child's progress in school.

One of the most discouraging statistics from these families is that 28% of them had a child who had been suspended from school and 8% had a child who had been expelled from school. In most schools suspension and expulsion are extreme measures, resorted to only when other disciplinary measures fail. In fact, school discipline seems to represent a very real problem in many of these families. Nearly two out of every five female household heads had visited their childs' school because of disciplinary problems. Seen together with the 28% of families having had a child suspended from school, it becomes apparent that discipline in school is a severe problem for the children of single female-headed households. Whether this is primarily the fault of the child or the school cannot be determined from these data, but increased parental contact with the

schools and encouragement of this by the school would provide a forum for discussion.

One of the best ways to improve the performance of the public schools and of the students who attend them is for parents to be involved and to demand that the schools do their job. But the schools cannot do the job without the active cooperation and participation of parents and while a majority of the parents in our sample were involved in the education of their children, even larger numbers are needed if they are to effect improvement in an area which is as vital as is the education of their children.

College attendance

In spite of the problems some children encounter in elementary and high school, over 9% of families headed by women had children who were attending college in 1980. Black colleges claimed the allegiance of 44% of these students and 47% attended white colleges. While 9% college attendance may appear to be small, it is encouraging that even that proportion of female-headed families could send a child to college. Even junior college and state supported universities require some tuition payments and those and other expenses can constitute a significant fraction of a poor family's budget. Nevertheless, nearly one in every ten of these families had managed to send a child to college in 1980.

VI. CRIME VICTIMIZATION

Black female headed housholds were victims of crime at a higher rate than the general population, but not at significantly higher rate than other black households. When asked whether a household member had been a victim of a crime during the preceeding year, over 12% of our sample indicated that they had. The rate for all other black households was only slightly lower at just under 12%. The rate of crime victimization in the U.S. population as a whole was about 35 per thousand persons in 1980 -- considerably lower than the 42 per thousand for blacks.[67]

The most common type of crime these families experienced was burglary. Over two-thirds (68%) of the crime victims claimed to have been burglarized during the preceeding year. Nearly one in four had been victims of unspecified "other crimes" and 20% had been victims of assault. Finally, a small number of our sample households had been victims of serious personal violence, in the form of rape in seven cases out of the 141 households that were victims of crime, and in the form of homicide in two cases. While these numbers are too small to allow generalizing to all blacks to be made, they do demonstrate, the range of crimes to which our sample of households fell victim (Table 17).

These households are being victimized by crime at a rate that is far higher than that of the general population, although it is about the same as that for other black households in our sample. Nevertheless, given the precarious financial circumstances under which many female-headed households exist, they are the people who can least afford to be

victimized by criminals. Their property is often not insured, so any losses of money or goods must be borne by the victim alone, and because their houseold income is so low, money or goods that are stolen often cannot be replaced. Crime, therefore, imposes a greater burden on the poor family than it does on the middle income family.

VII. INFORMAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Despite their relative poverty, or perhaps because of it, mutual support systems based upon family ties are well developed and frequently used by single female household heads. Eighty-six percent of our sample of householders said that they had relatives who lived in the same city, but not in the same household. Over three-fourths of those saw their relatives at least once a week, and over 30% saw them every day. Clearly then, these households are not isolated and alone. On the contrary, there are very strong family ties existing for the majority of these households, if frequency of visiting is any indication.

These strong family ties have practical implications for the material as well as the psychological well-being of single female household heads. Our data indicate that there is a broad-based informal system of reciprocal exchange of money, goods and services between black female-headed households and their relatives in other households. The system is broad-based because it includes all three commodities: money, goods and services. It is reciprocal because the flow is in both directions -- single female household heads provided money, goods and services almost as often as they received them.

The commodity most frequently exchanged was money. Twenty-seven percent of those households with relatives in the same city had loaned money to other family members. On the other hand, 25% had received money in the form of loans from other family members.

The exchange of money was followed closely in frequency by the exchange of child care, with 28% of the households having been provided with it from relatives. This finding is consistent with the expressed need for child care in these households cited earlier in this paper, where nearly one out of every three households said that they needed daily child care.

Commodities were the next most frequently cited medium of exchange with 22% saying that they had provided family members from other households with clothing or food and 17% saying that these items had been received from other family members. Other frequently mentioned commodities exchanged included room and board and transportation -- each mentioned by about 19% of households in our sample (Table 18).

Such an extensive informal system of family support is, no doubt, born of necessity because of the economic insecurity that many of these families face, but it is important to note that it is not limited to female-headed households. When asked the same question, all other black household heads responded in about the same pattern as did female-headed households. So this support system is a characteristic of black families

in general, not just a specific kind of black family.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" by Ernest Hemingway, one of the characters states that "the very rich are different from you and me," and another responds "yes, they have more money." Just as Hemingway de-mystified the rich by simply stating their essential difference, we can de-mystify the female household heads who are poor by citing their essential difference -- they have less money. There are several reasons for this, but that essential difference remains. They are not poor because they are single females heading families; they are poor because they have little money.

One of the reasons why they have so little money is because less than half of them are employed and the only alternative to work for many females with children is welfare which allows them to survive, but of course, does not relieve their poverty. Those who don't work stay at home primarily because of their health, but also because of child care responsibilities and some, because they have retired. Nevertheless, there is a tremendous waste of human potential which could be halted with the application of the appropriate programs.

One step in the right direction would be the creation of low-cost child care for single parent households. Parents who want to work may be discouraged from seeking employment by the cost of child care which could amount to a significant portion of their total income, or the unavailability of child care at all. Again, a programmatic thrust in this area by government, and by community agencies could address this problem.

Job training is another remedy that is suggested by these data, and the new Jobs Training Partnership Act (JTPA) is designed to address the problem of the lack of skills and training. But there are several shortcomings to JTPA that will limit its effectiveness in addressing this group. First, it is not targeted to the disadvantaged, so those who need the training the most will not be given priority over those who need it less and it will be easy, therefore, for many of them to be ignored by the program. Second, the JTPA provides no stipend for participants, making it even more difficult for those who are employed to participate. Unless the training programs are operated with flexibility and sensitivity to the needs of the participants, the working poor will be faced with the dilemma of having to give up their jobs in order to participate in the training.

Regular, full-time employment and reliable low-cost child care are the ways to a better life for most of the women we have been discussing. These would constitute a sizeable investment in the human capital these heads of household represent, but an investment that we believe should be made because the consequences of not making it on their lives, and the lives of their children, will be with us for decades to come.

FOOTNOTES

1. The U.S. Department of Labor counts as unemployed only those who are actively seeking employment.

2. Federal Government Service Task Force RIF Report: Analysis of Impact on Women and Minorities, Federal Government Service Task Force, December 30, 1981.

3. Brenner, M. Harvery. "Personal Stability and Economic Security." Social Policy, May-June, 1977.

4. Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1981. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

5. Population Profile of the United States, 1980. Current Population Reports. Series P-20, No. 363. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

6. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1981. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Table 1

Type of Family By Race - Number and Percent
1970 and 1980

	1970			
	Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total Families	4,928		46,535	
Married couple families	3,235	(65.6)	41,092	(88.30)
Wife in paid labor force	1,747	(54.0)	15,651	(38.08)
Wife not in paid labor force	1,488	(45.9)	25,441	(61.9)
Female householder (No husband)	1,506	(30.5)	4,386	(9.4)

	1980			
	Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total Families	6,317		52,710	
Married couple families	3,392	(53.7)	44.860	(85.1)
Wife in paid labor force	2,022	(59.6)	22,138	(49.3)
Wife not in paid labor force	1,370	(40.4)	22,722	(50.6)
Female householder (No husband)	2,634	(41.7)	6,266	(11.9)

CHANGE 1970-1980

	Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%
Total families	1,389	28.2	6,175	13.2
Married couple	157	4.8	3,768	9.2
Wife in paid labor force	275	15.7	6,487	41.4
Wife not in paid labor force	-118	7.9	-2,719	10.7
Female householder	1,128	74.9	1,880	42.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980.

Table 2

Type Of Family By Race and Median Income (in current dollars)
1970-1980

	1970		1980	
	Black	White	Black	White
Married couple families	$7,816	$10,723	$18,593	$23,501
Wife in paid labor force	9,721	12,543	22,795	27,238
Wife not in paid labor force	5,961	9,531	12,419	19,430
Female households (No husband present)	3,576	5,754	7,425	11,908

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 127, Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1980.

Table 3

Marital Status of Black Female HOH's compared to Other Black HOH's

Marital Status	Black Female HOH	All Other* Black HOH
Married	3.5	68.7
Separated	23.1	6.5
Divorced	19.6	6.0
Widowed	32.0	9.6
Never Married	21.8	9.2
Total	100%	100%

* Other refers to households headed by single black males and all other dyads involving males and females.

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

Table 4

Divorced Persons Per 1,000 Married with spouse Present, by Race, and Sex: March 1980, 1975, 1970, and 1980

Year and Sex	Total	Race	
		White	Black
1980	100	92	203
1975	69	64	136
1970	47	44	83
1960	35	33	62
MEN			
1980	79	74	151
1975	54	51	96
1970	35	32	62
1960	28	27	45
WOMEN			
1980	120	110	257
1975	84	77	178
1970	60	56	104
1960	42	38	78

Source: Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1980. Current Population REports, Series P-20, No. 365 U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Table 5

Educational Attainment of Black Female Heads of Household Compared to Other Black Heads of Household

Levels Completed	Black Female HOH	Other Black HOH
Total	100%	100%
Elementary	17	19
Some high school	37	32
High school	26	30
Some college	11	10
Two-year community college	2	3
Four year college	3	4
Some graduate school	1	1
Graduate school	2	1

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse Survey data.

Table 6

Source of Employment for Black Female Heads of Household

Source	Percent Employed
Federal Government	7.5
State or Local Government	24.6
Armed Forces	0
Private Sector	63.9
Self-Employed	4.1

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the Black Pulse Survey.

Table 7

Employment Status of Black Female HOH's

	100%
Employed	59
Unemployed	41
Unemployed, looking for work	77
Unemployed, not looking for work	23

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

Table 8

Reasons for not looking for Work Given by Unemployed Black Female Heads of Household

	Black Female HOH	Other Black HOH
	100%	100%
Retired	10.6	19.0
In school	6.9	2.5
Pregnancy	2.6	3.5
Child care responsibility	11.7	11.3
Other family responsibility	4.3	6.5
Health problems	50.7	46.3
Lack of experience skills or transportation	7.2	5.5
Other	6.0	5.5

Source: Prepared by the Ntional Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

Table 9

Incidence of Disease in Black Female Headed Households

Disease	Black Female HOH	Black Female HOH
Cancer	2.2%	2.4%
High Blood Pressure	44.2	43.4
Heart Attack	7.0	5.5
Stroke	3.4	4.1
Diabetes	12.0	12.9
Tuberculosis	1.0	1.2
Sickle Cell	1.6	3.1
Hard Arteries	7.1	4.7
Other	14.2	18.6

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

Table 10

Source of Black Female Heads of Household

Income Sources	Black Female HOH	Other Black HOH
Wages	52%	74%
Interest	7	16
Rents	7	9
Public assistance	38	15
Social security	32	31
SSI	16	10
Veterans benefits	5	7
Unemployment benefits	5	6
Worker's compensation	2	3
Alimony or child support	10	3
Retirement	15	7
Regular contributions	5	2
Other sources of income	5	3

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Reserach Department from Black Pulse Survey data.

Table 11

Gross Weekly Earnings of Black Female Heads
Of Household in 1979

Amount	Percentage
Under $50	7.1%
$50-99	10.1
100-149	25.4
150-199	17.9
200-299	24.3
300-499	12.9
500-599	1.6
600-900	-*

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the Black Pulse Survey.

* Less than 1%

Table 12

Median Income[1] of Families by Race and Type of Family (1970-1980)

	1970	1975	1977	1978	1979	1980
All Families						
Black	$6,279	$8,779	$9,563	$10,879	$11,609	$12,674
White	10,236	14,268	16,740	18,368	20,438	21,904
B/W Ratio	61	62	57	59	57	58
Husband-Wife Families						
Black	$7,816	$11,526	$13,716	$15,913	$16,963	$18,593
White	10,723	15,125	17,916	19,638	21,659	23,501
B/W Ratio	73	76	77	81	78	79
Families Headed by Women						
Black	$3,576	$4,898	$5,588	$5,888	$6,784	$7,425
White	5,754	7,651	8,799	9,911	11,547	11,908
B/W Ratio	62	64	64	59	59	62

[1] Median income in current dollars.

Source: Money Income and Poverty Status of Families in the United States: 1970-1980, Current Population Reports, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Table 13

Average monthly Expenditures for Shelter and Food of Black Female Household Heads compared to Other Black Heads of Household in 1979

Commodity	Expenditure
Rent	
Black Female HOH who rent	$134.00
Other Female HOH who rent	$146.00
Food	
Black Female HOH	$206.00
Other Female HOH	$234.00

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the Black Pulse Survey.

Table 14

Why Black Female Heads of Household Need Child Care Services

Need for Child Care	Response in Percentages	
	Yes	No
To attend school	63	37
To work	78	22
To recover from illness	15	85
Because of special needs of child	15	85
Other	5	95

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from data in the Black Pulse Survey.

Table 15

Type of School Attended by Children from Black Female-Headed Households

	Black Female HOH	Other Black HOH
	100%	100%
Public school	95.4	92.5
Private religious	4.8	7.1
Private non-religious	1.0	2.2
Other	1.8	2.2

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

Table 16

Percentage of Female Heads of Household that Have Visited Childs' School for Various Reasons

Reason for Visit	Black Female HOH	Other Black HOH
PTA meetings	49.3	57.5
Special school activities	55.1	58.1
Grades	53.3	50.4
Discipline	38.6	29.3
Parent/teacher conference	39.2	42.2

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

Table 17

Black Female-Headed Households that Were Victimized by Crime by Type of Crime

Type of Crime	Black Female HOH	Other Black HOH
Burglary	69%	67%
Armed Robbery	6	10
Assault	20	19
Rape	5	1
Homicide	1	1
Other Crime	23	20

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

Note: Percentages refer only to the 12 percent of black female-headed households that were victimized by crime in 1979.

Table 18

Informal Support Systems of Black Female-Headed Households

Support Activities	Support Provided to Relatives	Support Received from Relatives
care for children	28%	21%
care for elderly relatives	14	4
care for other relatives	16	8
provide clothes or food	22	17
loaned money	29	25
provided room and board	19	9
provided transportation	19	23

Source: Prepared by the National Urban League Research Department from Black Pulse data.

THE BLACK VOTE - THE SLEEPING GIANT

By
Dianne M. Pinderhughes

I. INTRODUCTION

Eighteen years after passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and 38 years after passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act, the first civil rights legislation since the Civil War, the black vote is maturing into its most powerful form in the nation's history. In the early years of the civil rights movement, and immediately after passage of the 1957, 1960, 1964, and 1965 civil rights acts, black nationalists, political and civil rights leaders, and academics argued about the value of electoral politics from a wide range of ideological positions.

Black nationalists and other veterans of the 1950's and 1960's protests argued that the civil rights movement had already proven the bankruptcy of electoral and coalition politics. Black Marxists argued that the political sphere was a superficial area of conflict; the economy determined the status of blacks more effectively than politics. Black elected officials and others, most notably Eddie Williams, President of the Joint Center for Political Studies, insisted that there simply were not yet enough black elected officials to make a difference. Black scholars also took a number of positions on this issue, similar to those stated above.1/

As the number of black elected officials climbed in the 1970's and protests, riots and civil disorders came and went, they argued. As the civil rights presidencies of Kennedy and Johnson receded into history and the more conservative Nixon and Ford presidencies followed, they argued over the parallels between the reconstruction era of the 19th century that followed the Civil War and the civil rights era of the 20th. Would the abrupt end of 19th century reconstruction be duplicated by 20th century white backlash? The brief interlude of the Carter presidency was immediately followed by the election of Ronald Reagan, whose philosophy seemed to suggest an end to 20th century reconstruction. But the issue of political participation is not yet moot as some of the same groups debated the possibility of a black candidate for President throughout 1983. For example, black political scientists debated the question at the 1983 annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists and in a recently published forum.2/

Yet during all the debate, significant changes had occurred which may preclude or at least reduce the possibility of a return to status quo ante. The Congress has legislated federal protection for voting rights and this has been upheld by Supreme Court decisions. Legislation was also passed protecting blacks from discrimination in employment, housing, education and other areas.3/

Significant demographic changes involving the mass movement of blacks to many urban areas in the north and south also occurred throughout the post-World War II period which affected the political arena. By the late

1960's, black candidates began to challenge whites for elective office in city council and mayoral races across the nation.

In an interactive process, black challenges stimulated black voting, and increased white voting in some of the earliest races.[4] In successful elections such as the Stokes and Hatcher campaigns in Cleveland and Gary in 1967, black candidates realized they had to stimulate the black electorate in order to win. Operation Big Vote, invented and organized by the Joint Center for Political Studies, and the Voter Education Project born during the civil rights era, and voter registration drives specific to particular campaigns have added to the base of black voters over the last decade.[5]

As they saw their electoral choices enriched by black candidates who raised issues of greater significance to the black electorate, black voters were considerably more amenable to political mobilization and increased their sense of political efficacy.[6] In effect, each new election reinforced black political integration, since each one helped to convince black voters they could have an impact on the political process. Once the political process had an effect on the day to day lives of black citizens, they had a positive incentive to continue their participation. Electoral success encouraged greater attention to electoral activity than had been the case in previous decades when black political activity was primarily protest oriented and took place outside of electoral politics because of its racially exclusive character.

I will argue in this paper that the last ten years laid the groundwork for full black penetration into electoral politics at the local, state and national levels and that the black vote will realize its full potential in the 1980's. The paper explains why and how the black vote is a clearly significant force whose impact must be carefully calculated. I will discuss several factors which give the black vote its power and which make it more important than other ethnic or language groups. I will examine the size of the black vote, its variation by region, the issues which mobilize black voters, partisan identification and I will summarize their interaction.

I will also discuss the attempts of various organizations to strengthen black voting power through voter registration drives. I will argue that the contemporary period is in effect a second phase to the civil rights movement, with campaign efforts directed at winning a share of political governance rather than forcing local governments to recognize the citizenship rights of black citizens. It is to be noted that conceding the right of a black person to govern an entire city has been as difficult for some northern urban populations, as it was difficult for a Bull Connors or a George Wallace to admit blacks to the voting booth or to educational institutions in the 1960's.

I will also devote attention to Jesse Jackson's campaign for President which is very important because it marks the first time a black person is seeking office with significant and mobilized constituency support. Jackson forces all Americans to consider the possibility of a black person holding the nation's highest political office. He will not

receive the support of every black voter, but a significant portion of the black voting constituency has or is now being activated by recent local and the present presidential campaigns. Reverend Jackson will compete for that constituency along with other presidential candidates and the polls show that he receives very strong support from black voters. This is not the first time that a black candidate has sought the Democratic nomination for President; former Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm did not have the advantage of a fully mobilized black electorate to whom to make her appeal when she ran for President in 1972.

II. THE BLACK VOTE: SIZE, REGION AND POLITICAL DISTRICT

Only 10% of the 162.7 million voting age population (VAP) of the United States is black, and 5% is Hispanic, but elective office, including the presidency, is not based on these simple proportions.[7] Election to the most important office, the Presidency, is based on the votes of the electoral college whose numbers duplicate the representation of the states in the House of Representatives and in the Senate.

A successful presidential candidate must win 267 of 535 votes in the electoral college. One strategy is to concentrate on the most populous states with the most electoral votes such as California (47), New York (36), Texas (29), Ohio (23), Illinois (24) etc. Most of these states happen to be in the northeast or midwest where the black population is heavily concentrated, or in Texas, Florida and California where the population of Spanish origin and blacks are the largest minorities. (See Table 1 for a list of states with significant black VAPS and their electoral votes.) Blacks are also an important portion of the southern electorate; these states are not as large as those in the frostbelt, but in the post civil rights period, they have often been an important component of Republican victories. Blacks are thus very well situated to influence presidential elections, especially in close contests.

In the House of Representatives, blacks equal 20% or more of the population in 86 House districts and in 73 of these districts they comprise 25% or more of the population.[8] (See Table 2). When the same districts are evaluated using VAP, the number with 20% or more black voters falls to 71, and those with 25% or more black voters, to 55.

By either measure black voters significantly influence the election of House Members in only one-fifth of the 435 districts. They may elect black representatives in districts where they are a voting majority, or where blacks are a large enough minority to control the nomination process, if there are several white candidates. There are 22 such House districts where blacks equal 40% or more of the VAP. This assumes that voting populations are consistently polarized by race, but this is not always the case. Katie Hall was elected in 1982 from the first district in Indiana which has only a 22% black VAP, while Ronald Dellums has been elected since 1970 from the eighth district in California which is only 24% black. They could not have been elected without substantial white support. Since 71 districts have 20% or more black VAP, the Congressional Black Caucus could undergo considerable expansion, but this will depend on

the willingness of whites to vote for black candidates. To influence legislation, representatives from the 86 districts with 20% or more black population, including 20 black House members, must cooperate with the other 349 representatives.

Twenty states have substantial numbers of blacks in their VAP, ranging from a little less than 5% to over 32%. (See Table 1). In situations where there is a close contest between the statewide candidates, the black VAP can have a significant impact on the election, regardless of the candidate's race. However, electing a black woman or man to statewide office, in effect an at-large election, may be considerably more difficult.

Studies comparing at-large and district electoral systems have shown that blacks or other minorities are much less likely to be elected when the at-large format is used. Even when a black candidate receives strong support, there may be other problems. This was evident in Tom Bradley's recent defeat in the California gubernatorial election which has been attributed to racial prejudice since other candidates on the Democratic ticket ran ahead of the party's top nominee.9/

Black voters also have the opportunity to influence the partisan division in the Senate in 1984. A turn over of only six seats would shift the Senate from Republican to Democratic control. Republican incumbents in Illinois, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi face both a significant black voting population and a large number of unregistered black voters. Depending upon how attentive Senators Percy, Thurmond, Helms, Warner and Cochran have been to their black constituents, they may face difficult races. If black voters are strongly mobilized and loyal to the Democratic challengers, the Senate could return to Democratic control.

On the other hand, most if not all of America's largest cities have black populations of sufficient size to influence, if not determine mayoral elections in these cities. (See Table 3.) The number of black mayors has increased significantly over the last 15 years, and has increased most symbolically as cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and Philadelphia have elected black mayors. (See Table 4.)

The table also shows that the number of black city council members, aldermen, etc., has also increased substantially over the past several years. In only a minority of instances however do blacks constitute an absolute voting majority in the cities. Another factor to consider is that because of the migration patterns of the black population to urban metropolitan areas, and the highly discriminatory practices of the real estate, banking and insurance industries, blacks have settled primarily within center city boundaries, where their votes are disproportionately concentrated relative to the rest of the population.

III. POLITICAL MOTIVATIONS AND VOTER TURNOUT IN ELECTIONS

What motivates black voters? Available evidence indicates that their

racial and economic status are strong factors. Gallup polls over a period of time show they have consistently expressed stronger concerns about racial and economic issues than have white voters. In the 1970's, 90% of blacks held the three most liberal positions on five issue areas including economic welfare, size of government, black welfare, school intergration and foreign policy.

By the 1970's, one study concluded "where we once found 25% in the most liberal decile (tenth of the population), we now find 62% of all blacks at this point." Eighty-five percent were in the three most liberal deciles in the 1970's. In short, "No other group in American society is as distinctively liberal as American blacks."[10/]

In Gallup polls taken since 1980, there is some agreement between blacks and whites, but more frequent disagreement.[11/] (See Table 5.) Blacks supported voucher systems for use in public or private schools and the banning of handguns at virtually the same rates as white, 48% and 47% respectively. Whereas most of the remaining whites opposed the voucher system (44%), blacks split evenly between opposition and no opinion, 27% and 25% respectively.

A majority of blacks, 59%, especially southern blacks, 73%, favored busing while whites opposed it at the same level regardless of region, 78%. Whites, 67%, are twice as likely as blacks, 35%, to think the treatment of blacks is the same as whites, while 41% of blacks feel they are not treated very well, or badly, 16%. Nearly half, 44%, of blacks are dissatisfied with their personal lives while only 16% of whites feel so strongly.

On a series of questions put to voters in September 1982, blacks held more liberal postions in almost all cases. Seventy percent of non-whites, but 59% of whites favored the ERA. Sixty-one percent favored a nuclear freeze, but only 42% of whites were so inclined. Sixty-three percent of whites approved handing control of some federal programs to the states, while 56% of non-whites agreed. Seventy-five percent of whites and 55% respectively of non-whites favored the death penalty. There were two issues on which blacks were less liberal than whites. Fifty-one percent of non-whites versus 45% of whites agreed to reduce environmental regulations if such action was needed to improve the economic environment. Seventy-five of non-whites, but only 72% of whites supported a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in the public schools.

The most striking comparison arose on the issue of the Reagan administration's economic policies. A minority of whites (49%) favored his programs while only 16% of non-whites supported them. On military questions 22% of non-whites and 25% of whites supported increased aid for American military advisers in El Salvador. Finally, whites split their support for the party best able to handle the most important problem between the Democrats and the Republicans; a significant 23% felt there was no difference or didn't know. Blacks were much more decisive; 72% suggested the Democrats, 10% the Republicans and only 11% and 7% thought there was no difference or didn't know.

On other measures of political attitude, blacks generally received low scores for efficacy and trust, (that is, what effect they can have upon the political system and how much trust they place in it), but there is variation by socio-economic status in their ratings. Some research suggests that the socio-economic status of blacks is inversely correlated with political trust (the higher the status the lower the trust) and highly correlated with political efficacy. Yet, even when there is some correlation with socio-economic status, upper status blacks differ significantly, usually with lower efficacy, from upper status whites.12/

With this political profile, blacks would be expected to be particularly responsive to candidates who address, both in their personal characteristics (race) and in their substantive policy concerns, the interests of black voters. Huey Perry's research confirms this; he notes the intriguing pattern of high turnout of black voters, first for white liberal candidates, and then for black candidates who articulate specific issue concerns appealing to black voters.13/

Turnout, the proportion of eligible voters who actually appear at the polls on election day, fell during the mid 1970's, but has risen in the last four to five years, driven by the more aggressive challenges for political office of black candidates. (See Table 6) Turnout has increased disproportionately among blacks, blue collar workers, the unemployed and the elderly. For blacks the appeal of descriptive representation, that is the election of black candidates by black voters, and the appeal of candidates willing to address racial and/or other economic issues of particular concern to them, strongly motivate black electoral participation.14/

One of the more interesting developments in the rise in black turnout is the sizeable increase in voting participation by voters from 18 to 24 years, typically low participators and low party identifiers, regardless of race. The maturation of the black vote has increased participation among black voters across the entire age spectrum. This could have an important impact on political constituencies where black and white voters are of comparable proportions since it would equalize if not outweigh the difference between lower black turnout and higher white turnout based on their differing demographic and geographic distributions. (See Table 6.) Put more simply, younger voters from both races have lower turnout; higher proportions of the black than of the white population are young, suggesting an overall lower turnout for blacks. As young black voters are mobilized, black and white turnout should equalize and there are some reports which suggest that this is beginning to occur. (See Table 7.) Whites outregister and outvote blacks from ages 18 through 20, but blacks have surpassed whites in voter participation from ages 21 to 24.

IV. PARTISAN IDENTIFICATION

Partisan identification refers to the association between an individual and a political party. High or low partisan identification refers to the strength or weakness of the relationship. The equalization of registration and voting between blacks and whites is also important

because partisan identification has changed during this period. While the partisan political identification of whites has declined significantly over the last 15 years, blacks have become more strongly Democratic, that is their partisanship has increased.[15]

Age is an important factor in strength of party identification. Voters do not harden their association with a particular party until they are out of their twenties.[16] Theoretically, young black voters could therefore develop as a distinctive age cohort less strongly identified with the Democratic party than the rest of the black population, if party leaders and issues pulled them toward independent status or toward the Republican party. Yet in races at the local level, such as the Chicago Mayoral election in 1983, young black voters have been strongly mobilized for the Democratic candidate, thereby laying the foundation for a continued long term relationship between blacks and the Democratic party.

Blacks now identify strongly with the Democratic party, but it has not always been so.[17] From the 1860's through the early 1930's blacks who could vote, were as closely identified with the Republican party as they are now with the Democratic party.

From the election of 1932 when Franklin D. Roosevelt's liberal, social welfare policies attracted black political attention at the national level, but left the solid south exclusively white, to the mid 1960's when the Democratic party led by Lyndon Johnson, reformed the southern electorate, black voters slowly moved toward Democratic allegiance. Although reattracted by Eisenhower in the 1950's, the substantive civil and voting rights reforms of the 1960's cemented a black-Democratic political alliance. The shift of black voters to the Democratic party in the 1960's was in fact accompanied by significant new mobilization of blacks. Voting rights legislation of the 1960's removed the barriers to participation in the south and brought large numbers of new black and white voters into the electorate in the south.

In short, the interests of the parties shifted from the noncompetitive Republican monopoly over the black vote before 1932, through a transitional period, when Democrats' interests were separately controlled at the national and regional levels, to emerge into a late 20th century noncompetitive Democratic monopoly over the black vote.[18] This pattern of strong, racially based party identification persists because public policies which appeal to blacks are usually offered by one party, thereby precluding direct competition for the black vote on a substantive basis. Even when the party system was in transition between 1932 and 1964, the two parties did not compete directly aggressively with each other for the black vote.

In the past, European ethnics, Catholics, Jews, blue collar workers identified more strongly with the Democratic party, and Northern Europeans, Protestants and professionals or white collar workers identified with the Republican party. It is rare, however, that any group asserted its party identification to the degree that blacks have in the pre or post transition period. Hispanic voters are not as strongly identified with one party because of their sharply differing historical,

economic and cultural experiences: Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans and others from Central and South America do not necessarily vote consistently Democratic. The rest of the American electorate has become either independent or weaker party identifiers, freed by their ambivalence or rejection of the Democratic party's civil rights and social welfare policies. Blacks have become more strongly identified with the Democratic party for the same reasons.19/

Partisan identification thus interacts with the level of turnout, and helps strengthen the impact of the black vote. Until the late 1970's, black and white turnout declined, with black turnout consistently lower in relation to white. In the last five years, however, turnout has begun to increase for the entire population, but black turnout has increased faster than white.20/ Increasing turnout, strong partisan identification, and loyalty, concern about specific issues and geographic concentration give blacks disproportionately more power than their percentages of the national, state or local populations suggest. The impact has already been gauged in cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston and will certainly be felt in the 1984 Presidential election. These factors are magnified when skilled political leaders use them in strategic combination with the structure of elections. I now turn to a discussion of the strategic use of the black vote.

V. STRATEGIC FACTORS

The most intriguing effects of the black vote appear when it is used strategically. In cities such as Chicago and Boston, the black vote has proven more powerful than its sheer numbers, because of its unity in support of a black candidate when the Republican or other nonpartisan opposition is divided. Of course if the candidate most black voters support, must compete against another liberal, as Jimmy Carter did in 1980 against John Anderson, and as William Murphy did in the recent majoral primary election against Donald Schaefer, the black vote is significantly weakened. There was a 6% difference in the vote between Carter and Reagan, but only a 3.1% difference between the combined Carter-Anderson vote and the Reagan vote in 1980.

The Chicago, Boston, Baltimore, Charlotte, Memphis, Philadelphia mayoral elections have shown that several factors enhance the already powerful resources of turnout, strong partisan identification and loyalty, concern about specific issues and geographic concentration. The 1983 Mayoral elections in Chicago, Boston, Baltimore and Charlotte will serve as examples for analysis. (See Table 8.)

Before the individual analyses, however, there are certain commonalities that seem to be associated with successful mayoral races by black candidates.

First, because only 17 of the 100 largest cities with the largest black population in 1980 had the black majority, even fewer had majority black voting age populations (See Table 3.) Thus, black candidates must seek situations where they face a divided opposition. Second, election

campaigns must be preceded by major voter registration drives. In Chicago, for example, voter registration was organized and funded by a coalition of black groups and businesses, and several hundred thousand people were added to the voting lists. Third, the black candidate must have an organization which can turn out most of these voters on election day. Finally, the black candidate must win the unequivocal support of the black community and win about 20% of the white vote. Successful candidates have managed most if not all of these factors while unsuccessful candidates have failed on a number of them. Melvin King of Boston and William Murphy of Baltimore failed in their pursuit of office for different distributions of these reasons.

In Boston, the small size of the black VAP, 18.7%, was counterbalanced by a divided opposition, by which Melvin King, with the support of a large and loyal black turnout, placed a very close second in the nonpartisan primary. In the general election however, King faced only one opponent and all the support of the black and liberal white electorate won him only 35.1% of the vote. Despite King's defeat, a number of blacks were elected to the city council and the board of education under Boston's new district electoral system. Four white males were elected to the city council on an at-large basis, while two blacks including one black woman won two of the nine seats elected under the district system. One black male and one black female were elected to the school board at-large, while one black female, one black Hispanic female, one white woman and six white men were elected in districts.21/

Baltimore has a slight black majority of the VAP, 50.3%. Recent state and local elections had already stimulated voter registration campaigns and black turnout. However, former Judge William Murphy faced a more complex political situation in the black community than black candidates in any of the other four cities we have cited for analysis.

Murphy was opposed by a liberal white Democratic incumbent in the primary, Donald Schaefer, whose policies and candidacy won the endorsement of a number of the city's black leaders, even before Murphy announced his candidacy. Although turnout in the election was high, the split in support for Murphy was located in the mass black electorate, as well as in the city's black leadership. Murphy won only 26% of the total city vote and a minority, 45%, of the vote in 206 majority black precincts.

Thus, despite the fact that black voters were in the majority in Baltimore, other factors prevented William Murphy's nomination.22/

On the other hand, in Charlotte, Harvey Gantt, with an M.A. in City Planning and a degree in architecture, was seen as a noncontroversial candidate by both blacks and whites. Blacks are only 27.6% of the voting age population of the city. Yet Gantt won 40% of the white vote, and 52% or of the total vote. Black voter turnout and black loyalty were thus very high and white support substantial.23/

Finally, Chicago's election, with its angry racial hostility, was the standard above which the Boston, Charlotte and Baltimore campaigns sought to rise. Blacks had only 35% of the VAP, but Harold Washington won the

Democratic nomination against two competitors, each of whom was unwilling to withdraw from the campaign. Jane Byrne and Richard Daley divided the white vote between them and Washington won the Democratic nomination for mayor. Moreover the Chicago primary was preceded and followed by major voter registration drives. In the general election, the Chicago electorate was highly mobilized with voter turnout higher than it had been since the early 1960's. The black electorate was highly loyal to Washington and he won with about 20% of the white vote.[24]

The election of Harold Washington became a real possibility in Chicago when black voters reached a political-psychological threshhold, in short when their feelings of efficacy strengthened. That process involved a subtle but profound change in political chemistry which was experienced as a feeling of liberation from the old Daley machine.

From these elections the lesson is clear that although the size of the black vote is important, it can be significantly strengthened or weakened depending upon the way in which the black vote's underlying characteristics combine with the structure of the election. Thus, divided white opposition helps elect a black candidate, while divided black support, or a field of black candidates, helps elect a white candidate.

At the national level, Pearl Robinson has noted that when white voters split their vote fairly evenly between the Republican and Democratic candidate, the strongly Democratic black vote determines the election. (See Table 9.) In cases where the white vote is strongly supportive of a Democratic candidate as in 1964, 1968, 1972 and 1980, the black vote reinforced the Democratic majority of 1964, but was not large enough to block Republican victories in 1968, 1972 and 1980. 1984 could be a very different year. In 1968, the voters gave Nixon less than a one percentage point majority over Humphrey, but this equalled a substantially larger electoral vote total; in 1972 the voters' perception that McGovern was too far to the left of the electoral spectrum, gave Nixon a genuine landslide both in the popular (60%) and in the electoral vote totals (520). In 1976 Carter appealed sufficiently well to the traditional Democratic constituency including black voters and to more conservative white Southern Democrats to win 50.1% of the popular vote, and 297 electoral votes. In 1980, a majority of whites, including important portions of the normally Democratic identifiers such as Jews, blue collar workers and ethnics voted for Reagan. Upper status whites have typically turned out in higher numbers, but have not always been as loyal to Republican party candidates.[25] Moreover, a majority of white voters identify with the Democratic party. Thus any Republican presidential candidate, especially when facing a moderate Democrat, cannot rely on upper status white voters, or even on whites alone, but must appeal to a more heterogenous economic and racial mix of the voting population.

Table 1 shows Reagan's victory margins in 21 states with 359 electoral votes, where blacks constitute a significant portion of the voting age population. The total vote is problematic since the conventional procedure begun by the Joint Center for Political Studies considers only the Reagan-Carter vote. Yet most, if not all of John Anderson's supporters would probably have supported Carter. It thus seems

appropriate to consider the Carter-Anderson vote together. When this is done, Reagan's victory margin shrinks from 5.2 million votes to 1.6 million votes in the states in question. The surplus of unregistered black voters compared with Reagan's margin over Carter equals only 1.2 million, while the surplus of unregistered black voters compared with Reagan's margin over Carter plus Anderson's equals 4.8 million. A return to a "normally" Democratic voting pattern by Democratic identifiers such as Jews, blue collar workers and ethnics, the absence of a third party candidate, the presence of strong and increasing registration and turnout, and Democratic party identification and loyalty among black voters, could very well produce a Democratic majority. As Jesse Jackson and other national leaders have recognized, the black vote will be critically important in 1984.

Political strategists should take care however in using these vote figures as predictors of the 1984 election. Significant numbers of formerly unmobilized blacks must be registered. It is possible that these individuals will be difficult to reach both physically and politically and require greater organizational and financial investment than those already registered. Secondly, short term issues may well disrupt this outcome. An improving economy, wars and military conflicts generate support for political leaders regardless of partisanship. The public's rating of Ronald Reagan rose significantly after the United States invaded Grenada in fall 1983. With other possible diplomatic or military crises in other areas of the world, the President has a great many opportunities to strengthen his appeal to Democratic as well as Republican voters.

VI. CONCLUSION: THE 1984 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The one certainty in the Reverend Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic nomination is its unpredictability. Jackson will have the effect upon American politics of a newly discovered earthquake fault; his campaign may shake the American political system especially the Democratic party, to its foundations, while opening innumerable fissures in congressional, state and local politics. The earthquake fault analogy is important, but the campaign should also increase the efficacy of black voters, even if the campaign is not entirely successful, as Mel King's campaign did in Boston. Studies of black political attitudes in 1984 should show a significant increase in political efficacy.

First the presidential campaign will have an irresistible appeal to black voters, elected officials, and political leaders. Even those who do not approve of Jackson or of his candidacy will be drawn by the symbolic significance of a black contender for the presidency at a time when the black vote is increasingly mobilized. Gallup polls in April and July 1983 showed that 42% of non-white Democrats selected Mondale as their first choice in a six man Democratic contest. Glenn was a distant second among non-white voters, with 12% and Cranston, who placed third attracted 3% in the first poll and 5% in the second. The second largest group among non-white voters was undecided, 33%.[25/] In a three way race in the general election involving Reagan, Mondale and Jackson, however, Mondale's black support dropped to 29%, Reagan won only 7% and Jackson picked up 48%

of the black vote.

Rising black voter registration levels, Jackson's strong charismatic appeal and effective use of television will make him a formidable candidate for the Democratic party, both in the primaries and as a highly credible threat to party and black unity in the general election.[26] The front running Democrat, and the amorphous group of individuals and organizations known as the Democratic party will have to deal with Jesse Jackson, who is a surrogate for the black vote.

Jackson has recently submitted proposed rules changes to the Democratic party to enhance black participation in the party's convention. Jackson argues that the 1981 Hunt Commission rules favor well-known candidates, through gerrymandering, at-large rules, a specific category for largely white elected officials, and winner take all primaries for selection of delegates, which discourage the election of black delegates. Jackson will seek changes in the delegate plans, first at the state and then at the national level, and will challenge delegations from states with large minority populations.[27] Because black elected official Richard Hatcher is both Vice Chair of the Democratic National Committee and a close advisor to Jackson, the politics of the rules of the delegate selection process will be heated, fascinating and unpredictable. The Joint Center and James Lengle estimate that Jackson is likely to win about 200 delegates; Lengle predicts that even with the highest turnout possible among blacks, and lowest turnout among whites in the primaries, Jackson could only win 620 convention delegates out of a total of 3931. While this number could only be crucial to the nomination if there was no front runner, Jackson will nevertheless be important because of the threat that he might enter the general election, or that he might weaken black support for the Democratic candidate.[28]

Second, Jackson's candidacy is related to his own and other groups' interest in voter registration. As I have already noted, black turnout has led increases in voter turnout since 1980. Some of that has been stimulated by voter interest, but it has also been influenced by voter registration campaigns. Several are already gearing up for the 1984 primaries and general election. The Voter Education Project, Operation Big Vote, the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Council are running campaigns designed to reach groups by tapping citizens in a variety of settings. In the past, citizens who wished to register had to go to a specific city or county location usually during business hours. Voter registration campaigns still required the voter to go to city hall to register. The new campaigns have demystified this process with the registration taking place wherever the organizing group sets up. Operation Big Vote, begun as a nonpartisan coalition of fifty organizations in 1975, established a national voter education program for the 1976, the 1980 and now the 1984 elections.[29] The oldest of the groups specifically organized for black voter registration is the Voter Education Project, which has concentrated on the southern electorate. Finally, the NAACP plans a campaign to register 2 million voters.

All of these campaigns are designed to enhance the already significant size of the black vote and to enhance the possibility that it

could be strategically important. Chicago, Boston and other city elections have shown that voter registration and get out the vote efforts work best when there is a specific candidate who combines a platform of substantive policies with the appeal of descriptive representation. As black voters have begun to see the direct benefits from electoral politics very clearly, they have registered and voted at record levels. The shift in political chemistry that elected Harold Washington will be at work in the 1984 elections in the candidacy of Jesse Jackson.

High turnout will also affect the outcome of many Senate and House races, possibly increasing the Democratic majority in the House and recreating a Democratic majority in the Senate. State and local elections will also be affected. There are signs that the black vote will combine with other groups within the Democratic coalition which split for Reagan in 1980, as well as with women. This wave of electoral participation represents a second generation, unforeseen success for the civil rights movement and for those groups which have worked at voter registration and voter mobilization over the last quarter century. With size, high turnout, loyalty, geographic concentration and divided opposition in the Democratic primaries, and the Jackson candidacy, black voters will have a major impact upon the presidential election in 1984 and upon national politics at all levels for some years to come.

FOOTNOTES

1. See THE BLACK SCHOLAR from 1972 to 1974 as an important source for these debates. Also see THE BLACK POWER REVOLT, Ed. Floyd Barbour, Porter Sargent Publisher, 1968; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE A STUDY IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT 1942-1968, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975; Robert H. Brisbane, BLACK ACTIVISM, Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1974. Eddie Williams, "Black Political Progress in the 1970's: The Electoral Arena", Michael Preston, Lenneal Henderson and Paul Puryear, Ed. THE NEW BLACK POLITICS, Longman, 1982: 73-108.

2. For a range of academic opinion on a black presidential candidacy, see PS for articles by Marguerite Ross Barnett, Ronald Walters, Mack Jones, Paul McClain and Lucius Barker. PS, Summer 1983: 480-507.

3. David Garrow, SELMA, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976, and Frederick Wirt, THE POLITICS OF SOUTHERN EQUALITY, Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

4. William E. Nelson Jr. and Philip J. Meranto, ELECTING BLACK MAYORS, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977. This deals with the Stokes election in Cleveland, and Hatcher's election in Gary in 1967. Black turnout in Cleveland increased from 72% to 79% in 1975; white turnout increased from 69% to 78%: 102, 162.

5. FOCUS, October 1979, 4 and HOW TO ORGANIZE AND IMPLEMENT A SUCCESSFUL NONPARTISAN VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN, Operation Big Vote, National Coalition on Voter Participation, Joint Center for Political Studies, Washington, D.C., 1980. See Brisbane, BLACK ACTIVISM, for a description of the founding of the Voter Education Project.

6. Efficacy means the ability of an individual to have an effect upon a situation, political or otherwise.

7. "Projections of the Population of Voting Age for States: November 1982", Current Population Reports, Bureau of the Census, July 1982.

8. FOCUS, September 1982: 3-7 and Dianne M. Pinderhughes "Legislating Racial and Economic Equality in the 97th Congress", URBAN LEAGUE REVIEW, Forthcoming 1984.

9. Charles Henry, "Racial Factors in the 1982 California Gubernatorial Campaign", presented Western Political Science Meetings, March 1983, Seattle, Washington, and Chandler Davidson, "At-Large Elections and Minority Representation", SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, 60: 336-48, Spring 1979.

10. Sidney Verba, Norman Nie and John Petrocik, THE CHANGING AMERICAN VOTER, 1976, 253-255. Lucius Barker and Jesse McCorry, Jr. BLACK AMERICANS AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, Cambridge, Mass: Washington Univerity, St. Louis, 1976, 73.

11. THE GALLUP REPORT, 1981, 1982, 1983.

12. Sandra Baxter and Marjorie Lansing, WOMEN AND POLITICS THE INVISIBLE MAJORITY, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1981. See Chapters 5 and 6 for a comparison of political attitudes by race and sex. Black women scored lowest on political trust and political efficacy.

    Bruce A. Campbell, "The Interaction of Race and Socioeconomic Status in the Development of Political Attitudes", SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, 60: (March 1980): 651-658.

13. "Race, Class and Neoconservatism in Southern Politics", Ed. Linda F. Williams and Dianne Pinderhughes, RACE, CLASS AND BLACK POLITICS, Chatham House, Forthcoming.

14. CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT, July 23, 1983, 1503. See Hanna Pitkin, THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967 and Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, PARTICIPATION IN AMERICA, New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

15. Verba, Nie and Petrocik, see chapters 13, 14.

16. Bruce A. Campbell, "Patterns of Change in the Partisan Loyalties of Native Southerners: 1952-1972", THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS, 39 (1977): 730-761.

17. Hanes Walton, BLACK POLITICS, Lippincott, 1972.

18. John Frederick Martin, CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE CRISIS OF LIBERALISM, Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1979.

19. Verba, Nie and Petrocik, see chapter 13.

20. CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT, July 23, 1983, 1503-1507.

21. BOSTON GLOBE, November 17, 1983, AMERICA'S BLACK POPULATION 1970 to 1982, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, August 1983: 2-3. Also see Toni-Michelle C. Travis, "Racial and Class Consciousness Among Black Political Activist in Boston", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1983.

22. BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN, September 17, 1983.

23. CHARLOTTE NEWS, November 9, 1983, NEW YORK TIMES, November 10, 1983.

24. CHICAGO TRIBUNE, April 12, 14, 1983.

25. Pearl T. Robinson, "Whither the Future of Blacks in the Republican Party?" POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, 97: 2 Summer 1982: 207-231 and Robinson, "Whither the Future of Blacks in the Republican Party?" Paper presented at the AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION, Washington, D.C. August 1980. Robert Axelrod, "Where The Votes Come From: An Analysis of Electoral Coalitions, 1952-1968", AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, 66 (1972) 11-20.

26. Deborah Lee Jones reports that Jackson speaks in twenty second "sound bites" that make his speeches easy to edit for television news. THE GALLUP REPORT, June 1983: 24, August 1983: 20.

27. NEW YORK TIMES, December 4,9, 1983.

28. James Lengle, "To Run or Not to Run: Estimates of a Black Contender's Delegate Strength at the 1984 Democratic Convention", PS Fall 1983: 673-677.

29. FOCUS, October 1979: 4. TIME August 22, 1983: 20-31.

TABLE 1
The 1980 Presidential Election
Reagan's Victory Margin and Black Voters
In Selected States and the District of Columbia

State	Electoral Votes	% Black of VAP	Unregistered Black Voters	Reagan's Victory Margin Reagan-Carter	Reagan - (C+A)
Alabama	9	24.6	272,000	17,462	981
California	45	6.6	462,000	1,441,197	701,364
Conn	8	4.5	68,000	135,478	-36,329
DC	3	70.2	176,033	-107,568	-123,905
Florida	17	13.9	459,000	627,476	437,784
Georgia	12	25.0	472,000	-236,565	-272,620
Illinois	26	12.3	257,000	376,636	29,882
Indiana	13	6.2	84,000	411,459	299,820
Kentucky	9	6.4	62,000	18,857	-12,270
Louisiana	10	25.8	256,000	84,400	58,055
Maryland	10	20.6	256,000	-45,555	-165,092
Michigan	21	11.8	214,000	253,693	-21,530
Miss.	7	30.4	131,000	11,808	-228
New Jersey	17	10.4	247,000	399,193	164,561
New York	41	12.9	894,000	165,459	-302,342
N. C.	13	19.8	506,000	39,383	-13,417
Ohio	25	9.0	247,000	454,131	199,659
Penn	27	9.0	294,000	324,332	31,411
S. C.	8	32.2	292,000	11,456	-2,697
Texas	26	10.5	520,000	629,558	517,945
Virginia	12	17.6	331,000	237,435	142,017
TOTAL	359		6,500,000	5,249,725	1,633 049
BLACK MARGIN:				1,250,275	4,866,951

SOURCE: NATIONAL JOURNAL, October 29, 1983: 2209, 2295. New York popular vote correction CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY WEEKLY REPORT, April 25, 1981: 722. Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, VOTING AND REGISTRATION IN THE ELECTION OF NOVEMBER, 1983, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, November 1983, Table 16: 63-66.

TABLE 2

1980 CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS BY RACE
TOTAL POPULATION AND VOTING AGE POPULATION

Districts by Percentage of Blacks

	25-30%	31-40%	41-50%	51-75%	76-100%	Total Districts
% Blacks of Total Population[1]	18 25%	29 40%	14 19%	6 8%	6 8%	73 100%
% Blacks of Voting Age Population[2]	20 36%	14 25%	9 16%	9 16%	3 5%	55 100%

Sources:

1 Focus, Vol. 10, No. 9, September 1982. There are 86 districts with 25% or more black populations. There are 71 with 20% or more black V. A. P.

2 US Census of Population and Housing 1980, Congressional Districts of the 98th Congress, Table 1 for respective states. The categories equal less than 100% because of rounding.

TABLE 3

Population of Voting Age in Ten Major Cities[1]

Cities	Total	White	Black	Spanish Origin[2]
New York	5,306,166	65.1%	22.6%	17.0%
Chicago	2,152,196	55.1%	35.5%	11.7%
Philadelphia	1,251,052	62.1%	34.6%	2.9%
Los Angeles	2,221,112	64.5%	15 8%	23.3%
Baltimore	574,832	48.3%	50.3%	.9%
Cleveland	414,378	56.6%	41.1%	2.5%
Birmingham	208,654	48.9%	50.5%	.7%
Boston	441,311	48.4%	18.7%	4.9%
Nashville-Davidson	334,641	77.4%	21.6%	.7%
Charlotte NC	227,088	70.9%	27.6%	

Source:
1980 Census
General Population Characteristic Table 25

1
Ranked by numerical size of black population.

2
Spanish Origin: includes black and white, thus the total is not reached by summing of black, white and Spanish.

TABLE 4

Black City Officials
1973-1982

Officials	April 1973	July 1977	July 1980	July 1982
Mayors	82	162	182	223
Councilmen, Aldermen Commissioners	840	1560	1809	1872
Other	131	120	91	94
TOTAL	1503	1842	2082	2189

SOURCE: NATIONAL ROSTER OF BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS FOR RESPECTIVE YEARS

TABLE 5
Political Attitudes By Race

	Busing		Treatment of Blacks			Dec 1980
	Dec 1980 Favor	Sep 1982 Favor	Same as Whites	Not very Well	Badly	No Opinion
Blacks	59%	57%	35%	41%	16%	8%
North	53	(Non-Whites)				
South	73					
Whites	17	23%	67%	17%	3%	13%
North	17					
South	17					
Feb 1981:29		Nov 1982: 9		Feb 1981: 35		

	Vouchers	Handgun Ban		Satisfied/Dissatisfied with Personal Life		
	Dec 1980 Favor	Sep 1982 Favor		Satis	Dissatis	No Opinion
				August 1983		
Whites	47%	45%	Whites	82%	16%	2%
Non-Whites	48%	46%	Blacks	50%	44%	6%
Feb 1981: 32		Nov 1982: 6		Sep 1983: 17		

	ERA	Nuclear Freeze	Fed Programs to States	Death Penalty	Reduce Env Regs	Prayer in Schools
			September 1982			
	Favor	Favor	Favor	Favor	Favor	Favor
Whites	59%	43%	63%	75%	45%	72%
Non-Whites	70%	61%	56%	55%	51%	75%

Nov. 1982: 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 18 respectively.

	Reagan Econ Program	Increase Military Aid to El Salvador	Party Best Able to Handle Most Important Problem			
	Sep 1982	Aug 1983	Sep 1982			
	Favor	Favor	Rep	Dem	No Diff	Don't Know
Whites	49%	25%	32%	35%	23%	10%
Non-Whites	16%	22%	10%	72%	11%	7%
	Nov 1982: 20	Sep 1983: 5		Nov 1982: 24		

SOURCE: The GALLUP REPORT, for dates listed. The total sample is 1500 with 1295 whites, 205 non-whites and 180 blacks.

Table 6

VOTING POPULATION BY RACE AND AGE

	Total US	White	Black	Hispanic
Total	162,790,845	138,286,601	17,099,133	8,980,717
18-24	19%	18%	23%	25%
25+	81%	82%	77%	75%

SOURCE: 1980 Census, General Population Characteristics, UNITED STATES SUMMARY: 1-27 - 1-35.

Table 7

PERCENT REPORTED VOTING IN 1982 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS BY RACE

Voters Under Age 25

White	% Registered	% Who Reported Voting
18-20	36.2%	20.4
21-24	48.2%	28.2%
Black	**% Registered**	**% Who Reported Voting**
18-20	30.7%	17.5%
21-24	50.3%	31.5%

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Jerry Jennings and Martin O'Connell, "Nearly Half of the Voting-Age Population Went to the Polls in November 1982," April 1983.

Table 8
Mayoral Elections in Four Cities

Baltimore: Democratic Mayoral Primary

Candidates	Votes	Majority Black Precincts	Turnout
William Murphy	26%	45.5%	
Donald Schaefer	72%	51.8%	
Total	227,714	111,570	67%
	100%	100%	

SOURCE: Baltimore Afro-American, September 17, 1983

Boston: Nonpartisan Mayoral Election

Candidates	Votes	Turnout
Raymond Flynn	64.9%	
Melvin King	35.1%	
Total	198,526	69.2%
	100%	

SOURCE: Boston Globe, November 17, 1983

Charlotte: Partisan Mayoral Election

Candidates	Votes	Proportion by Race
Harvey Gantt, D	52%	40% of white vote
Ed Peacock, R	48%	
Total	83,105	
	100%	

SOURCE: Charlotte News, November 9, 1983

Chicago: Partisan Mayoral Election

Candidates	Votes	Turnout
Bernard Epton, R	49%	
Harold Washington, D	51%	
Total	1,278,023	
	100%	75%

SOURCE: Chicago Tribune, April 12, 14, 1983

Table 9

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL VOTE BY RACE

Year	Pres./Party	White	Black
1952	Eisenhower/R	40.4%	80.4%
1956	Eisenhower/R	39.2%	64.0%
1960	Kennedy/D	47.8%	70.7%
1964	Johnson/D	64.5%	94.0%[1]
1968	Nixon/R	40.9%	96.6%
1972	Nixon/R	30.3%	87.0%
1976	Carter/D	46.6%	90.0%[2]
1980	Reagan/R	36%	82%[3]

Source: Adapted from Tables in Pearl T. Robinson, "Whither the Future of Blacks in the Republican Party?" Political Science Quarterly, 97:2 Summer 1982:207-231; and Robinson, "Whither the Future of Blacks in the Republican Party?" Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 1980: p. 11. Miller et al, American National Election Data Sourcebook.

[1]The Gallup Poll

[2]Joint Center for Political Studies

[3]Robinson notes that 82% was the lowest level of black support estimated for Carter. The highest was 91%. 82% was thus not necessarily the decline in support suggested.

Table 10

Reported Voting By Race and Region

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Region, race, and Spanish origin	Congressional elections					Presidential elections				
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
UNITED STATES										
Total, voting age	165,483	151,646	141,299	120,701	112,800	157,085	146,548	136,203	116,535	110,604
Percent voted	48.5	45.9	44.7	54.6	55.4	59.2	59.2	63.0	67.8	69.3
White	49.9	47.3	46.3	56.0	57.0	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7
Black	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	[1]58.5
Spanish origin[2]	25.3	23.5	22.9	(NA)	(NA)	29.9	31.8	37.5	(NA)	(NA)
NORTH AND WEST										
Total, voting age	110,126	102,894	96,505	83,515	78,355	106,524	99,403	93,653	81,594	78,174
Percent voted	51.9	48.9	48.8	59.0	60.9	61.0	61.2	66.4	71.0	74.6
White	53.1	50.0	50.0	59.8	61.7	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7
Black	48.5	41.3	37.9	51.4	52.1	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	[1]72.0
SOUTH										
Total, voting age	55,357	48,752	44,794	37,186	34,445	50,561	47,145	42,550	34,941	32,429
Percent voted	41.8	39.6	36.0	44.7	43.0	55.6	54.9	55.4	60.1	56.7
White	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.5
Black	38.3	33.6	30.0	36.8	32.9	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	[1]44.0

NA Not available.

[1]Black and other races in 1964.

[2]Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

[3]Prior to 1972, includes persons 18 to 20 years old in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 and 20 in Alaska, and 20 years old in Hawaii.

SOURCE: Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1982, Jerry Jennings, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, November 1983, p. vi.

THE STATE OF URBAN EDUCATION

By
Faustine C. Jones-Wilson

I. INTRODUCTION

Urban education is one segment of the larger educational structure in the United States. To consider the state of urban education is to focus on public schools in cities, and on some schools just outside those cities in the standard metropolitan statistical areas surrounding them. Even though today increasing numbers of black children are enrolled in private and parochial elementary and secondary schools, it still is true that the primary source of the education of black children is the public school. It is, therefore, of vital importance that the black community be aware of studies of schooling, recommendations for restructuring education, public perceptions and attitudes about the public schools. These studies, recommendations, and beliefs shape educational change and condition the public's willingness to support universal schooling at the taxpayers' expense.

Black citizens must know also what progress is being made, if any, toward making the schools that their children attend institutions of quality that effectively impart information, skills, and values to these youngsters. Further, it is of vital importance that black Americans know what issues exist with respect to public schooling, and what policies or proposed policies will affect curriculum, teaching, learning, evaluation, and financing with respect to public schools.

For some 17 years the reports on urban education have been troubling. In the early 1960s the dominant theme of educators was to educate the disadvantaged, a term which became a euphemism for the black and the poor.[1] The hopefulness in this outlook was replaced by the view that schools made little or no difference. The 1966 report, Equality of Educational Opportunity, by James S. Coleman was very influential in imparting this viewpoint. In 1969 Arthur Jensen, writing in the Harvard Educational Review, concluded that IQ differences accounted for what he called the failure of compensatory education, reviving the genetic deficit theory that had prevailed at the turn of the century in the U.S. By 1972 a flood of social science literature proclaimed that the rate of return from educational expenditures was increasingly low, and probably not worth the price. Prominent in this literature were Christopher Jencks' Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (1972), and Daniel P. Moynihan/Frederick Mosteller's work, On Equality of Educational Opportunity (1972).

By the 1980s an air of pessimism pervaded the thinking even of those individuals and communities supportive of big-city schools and the children who attended them. "Passing the buck" for the ills of urban education became the norm rather than the exception. Negativism has been both cause and effect of doubts about the ability of urban public schools to succeed in educating black children and youth. In 1983, however, there

are some signs of change that might signal new beginnings in school success. These will be cited later under "Effective Schools."

II. DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

In 1980 58% of blacks lived in central cities, 23% lived outside central cities in metropolitan areas, and only 19% lived in nonmetropolitan areas.[2] Blacks had a relatively young age structure, with a median age of 24.9 years compared to 30.0 for the total population and 31.3 for the white population. Thirty-one percent of blacks were in the school attendance years, between the ages of 5 and 19. Twenty-six percent were in the household-forming and prime childbearing years, ages 20-34, which suggests that they will produce more children in the decade of the 1980s and that these children will be candidates for public schooling in this decade, and to the end of the century.[3]

Between 1970 and 1980 the black population increased 17.3%, from 22.6 million to 26.5 million.[4] It was distributed somewhat differently than the majority population, with blacks being concentrated in the South despite the post-war migrations. In 1980 53% of blacks lived in the South, 38.5% lived in the North, and 8.5% were in the West. While blacks were about 12% of the national population, they were about 71% of the population of the District of Columbia, 35% of the total in Mississippi, more than 30% in South Carolina, and from 20 to 30% in Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, Maryland, and North Carolina.[5] The public schools in these jurisdictions are heavily populated with black children, as are public elementary and secondary schools in most of the major cities in this nation.

Blacks have used public schools to their advantage. Their educational attainment rates have climbed greatly in the last 30 years, from a 23% high school completion rate in 1950 to a 79% completion rate in 1978.[6] This means that more young blacks are eligible to enter college, or to enter the labor force in more desirable jobs that require at least a high school diploma for entry. It also means that the black-white high school completion gap has been narrowed, and that perceptions of the unworthiness of black attainment have been reduced.

The opposite of staying in school to graduate is, of course, dropping out. In 1970 44.4% of blacks 25 to 29 years old were not high school graduates but dropouts. However, by 1980 only 22.6% in that age group were high school dropouts. These figures indicate that blacks are staying in school and using public school to their advantage. Black-white differences, however, remain. Comparable figures for whites were 19.9% in 1970, and 12.7% in 1980.[7]

These completion rates provide evidence that black youth have made progress with respect to educational attainment. The effect of the 1954/55 Brown decisions, the passage and enforcement of civil rights and educational opportunity legislation in the 1960s, coupled with educational efforts of black parents and concerned civil rights leaders, along with the ability in the 1960s and early 1970s of mature black adults to work at

gainful employment has meant that black youth finally had greater opportunity to stay in high school and to graduate. In essence, this is a capsule explanation of increased educational attainment for black youth in urban schools in the last 29 years. Also, blacks have used public schools as a source of employment. Teaching has been a major profession for highly educated blacks.

However, the percentage of blacks in the teaching force is declining--from 8.1% of public school teachers in 1971 to 7.8% in 1981.[8/] Whites were 88.3% of public school teachers in 1971, but 91.6% in 1981. Of the recent bachelor's degree recipients newly qualified to teach in May 1981, 8,400 were black (6.4%), but only 4,000 (5.0%) recent black bachelor's recipients were teaching full time.[9/] In 1980 only 3.9% of black male and 5.6% of black female college-bound high school seniors indicated that they intended to major in Education.[10/] This means that there are smaller proportions of blacks in the teaching force, and that we are likely to have even smaller proportions in the future if these trends continue. While we would hope that the 4,400 newly qualified black teachers who are not teaching found meaningful employment in other occupations, the probability is that they are unemployed--given present unemployment rates of blacks and cutbacks in jobs.

The increased educational attainment that we have explored disguises the qualitative aspect of the education offered black children and youth. The poor quality of education for black Americans has been widely discussed, and thorough, eloquent explanations have been provided by Bernard C. Watson in The State of Black America's 1980, 1981, and 1982 issues.[11/] His analyses depict that quality as "of grave concern" (1980), "unacceptable" (1981), and "a national scandal" (1982). However, Watson specified some signs of hope for public schools in his 1982 analysis. One of these was an increase in public confidence in the schools as cited by parents of public school children in the 1981 Gallup Education Survey.

III. THE YEAR OF THE STUDIES

No doubt 1983 will be recorded in educational history as "the year of the studies of American schools." At least eight studies have been issued in the last twelve months, reassessing education and seeking to improve all schools, including urban schools. Most of these studies urge a reassessment of the purpose of education, all of them cite weaknesses that exist in most schools. Some reports, notably High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America by Ernest L. Boyer, point out that some high schools are offering excellent education, especially to those students that are college-bound in the direction of the most prestigious higher education institutions.

Most of the reports give minimal attention to equity. They focus on improving education in general. In this sense, if implemented, they will be somewhat analogous to the National Defense Education Act, passed after "Sputnik," designed to improve all science and mathematics instruction in the nation, and the earlier G. I. Bill, of World War Two which provided

educational assistance to all veterans. There are clear advantages in having non-race-specific educational efforts today since so many Americans believe that blacks have had as much public help as they need or deserve, but blacks benefit from general assistance programs along with all other citizens.

However, questions of power and control necessarily surface as reform measures are recommended. The clear danger to blacks is that we might be ignored in the quest for excellence and quality since so many power-holders seem to believe us incapable of attaining the highest standards of mental performance. School reform and restoration must not be allowed to proceed without including urban sites.

The current alarm about the state of education is indeed ironic. Black parents and community leaders have been pace-setters, in the forefront of calling for educational improvement. Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s these Black Americans have agitated for better schools for their children. In too many communities theirs were voices crying out in the wilderness as they demonstrated, boycotted, picketed, sat-in, and sought community control of public schools in their neighborhoods as they pursued educational betterment. Black parents permitted their children to be bussed, "paired", and magnetized in an effort to gain equal educational opportunity for them. They supported the concept of educational parks, elected school board members and selected superintendents in an effort to change and shape educational policy decisions. We wanted equal educational opportunity and excellence for our children. Instead of being granted that, we received castigation from the dominant group for what they called our special-interest efforts. Now there is reason for hope of educational improvement since excellence is becoming a white political movement with solid middle class and intellectual backing behind it.

Probably the most publicized of the 1983 studies has been A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform, issued in April 1983 by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, which was appointed by Secretary of Education T. H. Bell.[12] It concluded that a rising tide of mediocrity threatens our future, and it seeks to generate reform of our educational system while renewing a national commitment to schools and colleges of high quality. The Commission believes that the support of the public is the most powerful tool for improving education, and our national task is to make a renewed commitment to education and to create a learning society. All, regardless of race, class, or economic status, are to be included in developing their individual powers of mind and spirit.

A second study is Educating Americans for the 21st Century: A Plan of Action for Improving Mathematics, Science and Technology Education for All American Elementary and Secondary Students so that their Achievement is the Best in the World by 1995.[13] The National Science Board's 20 Commission members chose 1995 as a target date because it allows 12 years to complete one education cycle for a generation of school children. The report recommends heavy federal investment to improve mathematics, science and technology education in elementary and secondary schools, along with retraining of teachers, establishment of exemplary schools and programs, increased time for academic subjects, increased requirements for high

school graduation and for college admission, a national mechanism for measuring student achievement, rigorous standards for certifying teachers, and increased use of computers and other technology. Sponsored by the Education Commission of the States, the Task Force on Education for Economic Growth issued an action plan based on its conviction that education is the key to economic growth in our nation. Titled Action for Excellence: A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools, it highlights closer working relationships between business and the schools and urges continued federal funding for education, along with monies from all sources, and recommends that the federal government not "shrink suddenly from the issue of education as a national priority."[14]

A fourth report is Making the Grade: Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy.[15] It finds that elementary and secondary schools have been forced to depart from their primary functions and are in danger of losing sight of their fundamental purposes. The recommendations for improvement assume federal responsibility and funding for helping schools improve.

John Goodlad's eight-year study has emerged in A Place called School: Prospects for the Future.[16] He specifies four conditions that affect current learning and that will have an enormous effect on the future of schooling. These are: (1) a youth culture preoccupied with itself and composed of persons much less shaped by the traditional institutions of home, school, and church than was the case in the past; (2) the astonishing advance of technology in almost all aspects of life ("Television may be the closest thing we have to a common school. Can the schools have a future without technology?"); (3) the requirements of a large segment of the work place are obscure, and the best preparation for work is general education; this means de-emphasizing vocational education in schools; (4) the need for a highly educated society will continue and increase. He concludes that Education is what is most needed. Schooling is instrumental to the attainment of that end, necessary but not sufficient, for "schools alone cannot teach what our young people require in a world most of us scarcely comprehend."

A sixth plan for schooling is Mortimer J. Adler's Paideia Proposal (1982), now supplemented by Paideia Problems and Possibilities (1983).[17] Adler holds that basic schooling must be general and liberal, and it must not be specialized or vocational. He has detailed three kinds of teaching and learning that are essential to his plan: (1) acquisition of organized knowledge in basic subject fields, (2) development of intellectual skills that remain with one for life in formed habits, (3) the enlargement of understanding, insight, and aesthetic appreciation.

He decries the prevalence of didactic teaching, accepts coaching as a necessary teaching style for the development of intellectual skills, and supports teaching by asking, not by telling (the Socratic method). Adler admits that it might take from 20 to 30 years to implement his Paideia Plan, but he is convinced that it must become universal.

The seventh study, High School: A Report on Secondary Education in

America, to which we referred, was funded by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and is a 30-month study of 15 public high schools that represent a cross-section of American public secondary education.[18] Boyer and his investigators found that for 10 to 15% of students the American high school provides perhaps the finest education in the world. At the other end of the spectrum, perhaps 20 to 30% of students mark time in school or drop out; the academic experience is a failure. The majority of students attend schools where "pockets of excellence can be found but where there is little intellectual challenge." (pp. 38-39). He denies that there is a rising tide of mediocrity in public schools, but found that public education is beginning to improve.

An eighth study is Academic Preparation for College: What Students Need to Know and Be Able to Do, issued by the College Board.[19] This effort also is known as "Project Equality," and is part of a ten-year endeavor initiated in 1980 by the College Entrance Examination Board. The National Education Association's analysis of this publication is that it identifies the knowledge and skills needed by high school students if they are to perform successfully in college. The competencies are reading, writing, speaking and listening, mathematics, reasoning, studying, and computer competency. Those competencies must be linked with mastery of the subject matter in English, the arts, mathematics, science, social studies, and foreign language. An important recommendation is the development of student writing skills in all courses.

These eight reports have made us "information rich" on the one hand, and constitute an information overload on the other. A panel of superintendents, associate superintendents, and school board members from public school districts of the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area discussed these reports and their personal concern and experiences at a symposium co-sponsored by the Howard University and George Washington University chapters of Phi Delta Kappa. In general these metro-area educational leaders felt that: (1) Harold Howe II's overview of recent studies is very good.[20] (2) most school systems know what their problems are, and were working to solve them long before A Nation at Risk was conceived or issued, (3) we need to attract, train, and retain talented teachers for the nation's schools, (4) the recommendations are costly to implement, and no budgets for their implementation are forthcoming from any source. For example, to increase the school day and year and to raise teacher's salaries accordingly while at the same time maintaining existing contractual agreements would cost $47 million in one jurisdiction alone. Taxpayers already are in rebellion against school costs (Proposition 13 in California; TRIM in Prince Georges County, Md.), states are hard-pressed for funds, and the federal government wants to reduce its commitment to public education. Who will bear the costs of implementation?[21]

Before we leave the 1983 studies, it should be added that there are other reports and recommendations that deserve the attention of all persons concerned about urban education. R. Freeman Butts has taken a leadership role in promoting the revival of civic learning in teacher education programs. His goal is to prepare teachers so that they know the

public purpose of public education--to prepare citizens for responsible roles "in a political community governed by man-made laws rather than by kinship, religion, or status.[22]

The Summer 1983 issue of Daedalus focuses on "The Arts and Humanities in America's Schools." Arts and humanities, it is held, merit attention in all of America's schools, and should not be shunted aside as policymakers worry about the basics, and/or about mathematics, science, and computers for the students of our elementary and secondary schools.[23]

Two last reports deserve citation. Emily Feistritzer's The Condition of Teaching: A State-by-State Analysis was published also in 1983.[24] Theodore Sizer's work, Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School Today is forthcoming from Houghton Mifflin.

The statistically-oriented analyst or researcher will be looking for data that many of these studies fail to supply. These persons will benefit from publications of the National Center for Education Statistics. Useful tables and explanations are available in: (1) The Condition of Education, (2) The Condition of Vocational Education, (3) Digest of Education Statistics, (4) Discipline, Order and Student Behavior in American High Schools, (5) High School and Beyond: A National Longitudinal Study for the 1980's.[25]

IV. THE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1983

Since 1969 the Gallup Poll annually has assessed public attitudes and opinions about the public schools, and the results have been published in Phi Delta Kappan. The September 1983 issue of that journal reports the results of the 15th Gallup Education Survey, which is defined as valuable to school officials in at least two ways: (1) to alert decision-makers to overall public reaction to school policies and programs, and (2) to serve as a national benchmark against which local attitudes can be measured.[26]

The value of this poll is that it tells us what the public is thinking about the system of schooling that they are paying for, as well as what parents thinks about the particular schools that their children attend.

Specifically, the poll tells black people (a) whether white people continue to support public schools, and (b) where white people stand on those issues that affect our educational possibilities. For example, the poll asks about major problems confronting the public schools. In 1983 integration/busing were way down on the list of national concern (5% of the respondents cited them as a major problem in 1983), but formerly they were named frequently as problems. Interestingly, only 1% of named government interference as a problem, but the present Administration touts "government interference" as a major problem.

In general, public perception of the schools is that they are average or below in terms of the quality of their work, but the public's

expectations for the schools are high. Nationally, only 19% of the public rated the schools A or B, 38% rated them C, 22% rated them D or F, and 21% did not know what grade to assign. Nonwhite respondents' ratings were somewhat higher than those of whites; 24% of nonwhites rated the schools as A or B, 32% rated them C, 16% rated them D or Fail, and 30% did not know what rating to assign.

Local public schools received somewhat higher ratings than did public schools nationally, but a downward trend in ratings that began in 1974 continued. Adults with children in local public schools rated those schools higher than did adults with children in nonpublic schools, or no children in school.

Thus public schools populated by black children and youth are part of a national education picture that adults see as problematic. When questioned specifically about the problems faced by local schools, the top four problems named remain: (1) lack of discipline, (2) use of drugs, (3) poor curriculum/poor standards, and (4) lack of proper financial support. Only the third of these four problems is properly a public school primary responsibility, for which the school properly may be held accountable and which it has the power to solve within its parameters.

It is important to note that the public understands the discipline problem, for it lays blame for the problem on (1) lack of discipline in the home (72%), (2) lack of respect for law and authority throughout society (54%), (3) students who are constant troublemakers and often cannot be removed from schools (42%).

It is also important to recognize that while there is a national image that urban schools (populated mainly by black children) are full of problems--and in many instances this is true--their problems are for the most part the same problems being experienced by many or most schools in the nation today. Thus what some people would have us think of as urban problems (black problems) are school problems in general in this society in 1983. We might have more of the problems, i.e., to a greater degree, but our schools are not different in kind to all other schools.

In the poll respondents favored promotion from grade to grade based on passing examinations, and vetoed the idea of "social" promotion (75%). Two-thirds of all respondents believe that the workload given elementary school children and high school youth in public schools is too light, and another survey of students indicated that the students themselves felt that they are not given enough homework.

Nonwhites favor extending the school year by one month and increasing the length of the school day by one hour, but whites reject these ideas. Most parents believe that their children are learning what they should be learning in terms of curricular content offered (74%).

In Gallup education polls over the years parents have said that education is essential to individual success and to the success of society as a whole. The public believes in the power of education. How can schools fulfill their expectations? This is the question that remains to

be answered through adequate funding, commitment to the public school's basic raison d'etre, and institution of changes necessary to meet goals.

V. EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS RESEARCH

It is impossible for this sub-section to do justice to the research and findings related to programs and schools that are successfully improving the academic achievement of urban children or youth. Thoughtful analysts will want to read the entire April 1983 issue of Educational Researcher, which gives detailed information about what we know about effective schools, research for school improvement, and a critique of the effective schools research.[27] Questions about the effective school model are also raised in Phi Deta Kappan, June 1983, by John H. Ralph and James Fennessey.[28]

In most of the current educational literature it still is the norm to emphasize the gap between blacks and whites in achievement, and/or to focus on the extent to which black students fall below national averages and norms. Much less publicized is the research that provides evidence that some urban schools are effective, and that more such schools could be successful if their fundamental characteristics were replicated and continued over time.

The work of George Weber (1971), Brookover and Lezotte (1979), Brookover et al. (1979), (1983), Ronald Edmonds (1978, 1979, a, b, c), 1982, and others has received some attention.[29] At the risk of oversimplification, this body of research shows that in those effective public schools these characteristics prevail: (1) strong administrative leadership; (2) a climate of high expectations where no children are permitted to fall below minimum levels of achievement; (3) an orderly but not rigid atmosphere, conducive to instruction; (4) a philosophy that makes it clear that pupil acquisition of basic academic skills is the first order of business, taking precedence over all other school activities; (5) the flexibility to allow school energy and resources to be diverted from other business in furtherance of the fundamental objectives; (6) systematic testing to monitor and evaluate pupil progress; (7) outreach to the community.

Joseph Featherstone focused on Schools Where Children Learn (1971) and What Schools Can Do (1976).[30] Michael Rutter and his colleagues showed that schools can make a difference in helping students overcome the adverse effects of economic disadvantage and family adversity. In their three-year study of twelve secondary schools in inner London, a low income area, the Rutter team found some schools that were demonstrably better than others at promoting academic and social success in their students. It is important to note that the area included a substantial minority of immigrants with the largest group composed of black West Indians.[31] Daniel Levine and Jere Brophy also described successful strategies for improving academic achievement in inner city schools in the April 1982 issue of Phi Delta Kappan, that featured a special section on urban education.[32]

The federal programs that originated in the mid-1960s -- Title I, Headstart, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act -- finally are being given credit for providing services that helped black students reverse earlier trends that saw them falling further behind in skills. In 1981 the National Assessment of Educational Progress reported that black youth improved either absolutely or relatively on almost all writing tasks given to 13-and 17-year olds, and on one task given to 9-year-olds. In 1983 data assembled by the National Assessment of Educational Progress and reported in The Condition of Education showed that 9-year-old black students performed significantly better in reading than their counterparts in 1971. Although the black-non-black gap remains, 9-year-old black students made a larger gain in reading in this period than white studentsof the same age group (ten points as compared with three points).33/

The evaluations of longitudinal studies reported in Lasting Effects After Preschool show that (1) early education programs significantly reduced the number of children assigned to special education classes, (2) early education significantly reduced the number of children retained in grade, (3) early education significantly increased children's scores on fourth grade mathematics test, (4) low-income children who attended preschools surpassed their controls on the Stanford-Binet IQ test for up to 3 years after the programs ended, (5) non-cognitive measures such as children's being proud of themselves were improved, (6) no significant treatment/control differences were found in families' use of Title IV child welfare services.34/

Long-term gains for low-income children who attended the Perry Preschool in Ypsilanti, Michigan have been reported nearly two decades later.The longitudinal study shows that these children, who attended the Perry Preschool beginning in the fall of 1962, were less likely to be enrolled in special education programs when they were in school, and now more likely to have graduated from high school, to have received some kind of postsecondary training, to have become economically self-sufficient and to have avoided breaking the law by the time they reached age 19.35/

A current study has revealed the existence of three high-achieving black and poor elementary schools in Pittsburgh. The investigators, a team of Barbara A. Sizemore, Carlos A Brossard, and Birney Harrigan, have labeled these schools "abashing anomalies" and found they were set in motion by these organizational factors: (1) the recruitment and selection of a moderately authoritarian principal who believed that black poor students could and would learn, (2) the willingness of the principal to risk being different, i.e. differing with the system's norm of low achievement for black poor schools, (3) the mobilization of consensus among school and community actors around high achievement as the highest priority goal, (4) the generation of a climate of high expectations for student achievement conducive to teaching and learning, (5) the choice of functional routines, scenarios and processes for the achievement of this highest priority, (6) the willingness to disagree with superior officers around the choices of these routines and their implementation.36/

The school systems in such cities as Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, and

Washington, D.C., among others, seem to be improving as a result of special efforts being exerted toward that end. Some of these systems are headed by black superintendents, who are putting forth special professional and personal efforts to encourage and assist institutional changes that would benefit black and poor children.It is reported that there are today approximately 100 black public school superintendents.[37] One of those is Floretta Dukes McKenzie of Washington, D.C., who reports that there is a pattern of rising achievement in the predominantly black urban school system that she heads.[38]

In their research on the urban principal, Van Cleve Morris et al. found that "peripatetic" is a good word to describe the frenetic pace maintained by big-city public school principals. Although the roles played by various principals vary with the person, "creative insubordination" is employed by many of those who lead successful schools. Creative insubordination in this context means that the urban principal, on occasion, to protect the integrity, working rhythm, and morale of his school/teachers, deliberately ignores, misunderstands, or outright disobeys orders from superiors. The research shows that effective urban schools are characterized by strong administrative leaders who find creative ways to get around bureaucracies that stifle them. Prospective principals might not be innovative enough to figure out how to do this, or might be afraid to try. But they could learn how to do it if they had administrative internships--a move recommended by Morris--that could follow an effective principal around from day to day to see how he/she manages "in spite of the system," yet does not get fired in the process.[39]

The cover story of Time, October 10, 1983, is devoted to America's schools. The nine-page article cites examples that illustrate the thesis that the nation's public schools are shaping up and that there is a "bold quest for quality" evident in the U.S. now.[40]

The reader must not take this survey treatment to mean that there are so many effective schools that blacks can be assured that their children will automatically receive an education of high quality. That would be a false reading of this overview. The most accurate summation is that some programs and some schools are working successfully in a sea of programs and schools that are mediocre or worse. Some urban school systems are improving slowly, but there is no "quick fix," there is no single solution, no one charismatic leader, no one reform that will transform urban education.

VI. CURRENT ISSUES AFFECTING URBAN EDUCATION

There are many unsolved issues that affect urban education today. Included are desegregation, the "back to basics movement," school finance, bilingualism, the handicapped, educational vouchers, tuition tax credits, merit pay for teachers, competency testing of teachers and students, effect of computers and technology, magnet schools as instruments of change, too many elective classes, and others. The most immediate and

pressing concerns of urban educators at this writing are (1) societal efforts to reverse direction, i.e., the institution of policies and programs that reduce access to education or eliminate efforts so recently instituted to provide equal educational opportunity for underprivileged children, (2) merit pay for teachers, (3) competency testing of teachers,(4) competency testing of students, (5) the stiffening of graduation requirements, and (6) self-help efforts to improve the academic achievement of minority children. This paper will focus only on these six issues, with full acknowledgement that the other issues named above remain great concerns in most urban areas.

A. Efforts to reverse direction. Meyer Weinberg's article, "Inner City Education: Reading the Writing on the Wall," provides a very good summary of gains made by minority students in public schools over the past decade.[41] At its close, however, he sounds a warning that must become a flag for all concerned persons:

> Minority learning progress has been real. Efforts to reverse direction are also real and we must stop them in their tracks. It will take an enormous effort to consolidate and defend the fruits of the past decade.[42]

He is no doubt referring to the efforts and activities that would "narrow the application of civil rights law in education and dismantle mechanisms for enforcing those laws,"[43] along with "crippling or effectively eliminating many programs designed to help those students 'most at risk'."[44] I conceive these as efforts to undermine or eliminate public schools that are dedicated to the public purpose of providing schooling by the taxpayers for children and youth from ages 5 through high school -- all the children of all the people, regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, handicap, or geographic region.

When the current national administration assumed office in January 1981 it was offered a blueprint for policy management in a conservative administration.[45] The chapter on education addressed reshaping the federal role in education.[46] Those recommendations have been taken seriously in 1981, '82, and '83, especially by the conservative officials who have come into the Department of Education.[47] The Civil Rights Leadership Conference recent publication severly criticizes the civil rights division of the Justice Department and the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Education.[48] The sum and substance of conservative efforts to change the federal role in education is to "shift from guaranteeing equal education opportunity to serving as a somewhat disinterested dispenser of dollars -- albeit fewer of them," and those few through block grants to states and other such mechanism.[49] Programs to help the disadvantaged (read low-income, even moderate-income, urban blacks and Hispanics) are being downgraded and underfunded. The move to eliminate the Department of Education by converting it into a foundation is part of this general scheme, although we hear little about that conversion these days. Also, the reduction of information that flows from the government to the public is part of the plan to reverse direction. In some cases the information is no longer gathered through research and study; in other cases the information is not released.

The control of information by federal officials is not consistent with our democratic ethos.

The Administration's support for tuition tax credits for parents for tuition paid to parochial and/or private schools would drain the treasury of funds and would support private education at the expense of public education. An N.E.A. policy paper, "Tuition Tax Credits," explores these credits as economic policy and as education policy following an overview and legislative history of the question.[50] The data show that the general public does not support tuition tax credits.

In June 1983 the U.S. Supreme Court handed down the Mueller v. Allen decision, which upheld a Minnesota statute that permits deductions from state income tax for "taxpayers who incur expenses for tuition, books, and instructional materials and transportation in sending a child to public or private elementary or secondary school.[51] This is a tax deduction, not a tax credit or grant. However, even though it applies to public school parents as well as private school parents, it will be of greater benefit to parents whose children attend private schools. This decision adds a new dimension to the tax credit arguments, and to a more general concern about the future of American schooling -- especially public schooling.[52]

The arguments for and against vouchers similarly reflect the concerns of blacks about the future of public schooling. Vouchers are likely to support private schools at public expense, further depressing public schooling and contributing to its demise. Bernard Watson has analyzed vouchers, choice, and private schools in The State of Black America 1982.[53] Further discussion and analysis can be found in "Educational Vouchers: Regulating Their Efficiency and Effectiveness," in the November 1983 issue of Educational Researcher.[54]

B. Merit Pay for Teachers. The professional and lay literature of 1983 is replete with articles that support or denounce the idea of merit pay for teachers as a way of improving the quality of education.

The cloudiness of the question, which has become a hot political issue, is reflected in its lack of precise definition. Merit pay means what it is defined to mean in various jurisdictions, although the general concept seems to be to reward teachers based on their classroom performance rather than on academic degrees, years of experience, seniority in a particular system.

Unanswered questions abound: (1) who is an adequate judge of classroom performance, (2) what criteria will be used for judgment, (3) is "classroom performance" to be measured by variables that the teacher can control, such as thoroughness of preparation of lessons and interesting delivery of information, along with concern for all children -- or is "classroom performance" to be measured by variables outside the teacher's control, such as the ability of children to understand what is being taught and to score high on their tests as a result, (4) will teachers of gifted and talented students be judged the same way as teachers of the average-ability or low-ability students, (5) will teachers of the educable mentally retarded or emotionally disabled be evaluated in the same ways as

teachers of the "normal" students, etc., etc.

Merit pay plans have a very strong possibility of being discriminatory against the minority-group teacher because a perception exists that most minority-group teachers are inferior to those of the dominant group. Current options for initiating merit plans also include many judgmental categories where discrimination can exist but be hard to prove. As one example, the following qualifications have been cited as appropriate to establish "skill-level groupings" of teachers whose pay scales would be appropriate to the grouping: the amount of academic training of the teacher, the achievement of the student measured by the learning objectives of each class, the level of student discipline, the quality of the teacher's relationship with parents, the teacher's relationship with peers, other factors considered important in individual school systems.[55/] The last four of these categories could be utilized to discriminate against any teacher, and certainly against any minority teacher. The move toward merit pay is tricky and risky, and should be monitored with care and caution.

C. Competency testing for teachers. Some of the states now require beginning teachers to pass the National Teachers Examination, in addition to having an earned degree in the appropriate field and the stipulated teacher certification courses. There is a developing mood in the nation to have tougher standards for beginning practitioners.

In addition, there is some sentiment for the competency testing of in-service teachers in order to ensure that they have mastered the subject matter that they are employed to teach to students. This is a more controversial aspect of the competency testing push. Long-term teachers compare themselves to long-term physicians and lawyers, neither group of whom is required to be re-tested periodically in order to practice their chosen professions. Neither are they re-tested based on the number of patients or cases they lose in a given year or two. Because the public is not satisfied with the quality of performance of students, teachers are blamed.

This issue can become a political football, particularly in an election year. While teachers must assume the responsibilities for which they are employed, they cannot be blamed for all the conditions and problems in and out of school over which they have no control but which affect the willingness and ability of students to master what is being taught in the nation's classrooms. The issue of competency testing for teachers must also be monitored with care and caution. This is still one more way of reducing the number of minority teachers under the guises of "excellence" and "accountability."

D. Competency testing of students. Minimum competency tests are used to measure a student's level of mastery of certain skills deemed important by his/her state. These are school skills -- reading, writing, arithmetic, but might be "life skills" as well -- reading a newspaper, keeping a bank account.[56/] In 1975 only a few states had enacted minimum competency laws: by 1978 36 states had set some minimum standards, and at this writing 39 states now use minimum competency tests. Many school

systems link these tests to yearly promotion, and/or to high school graduation.57/ Black students are failing competency tests in larger proportions than are their white or Asian counterparts, and in some communities their Hispanic peers. As a result these youth will receive school attendance certificates, not high school diplomas, and will be unemployable unless remedial education and re-testing are provided them.

The testing movement is a reality. While educators debate the pros and cons of the examinations, children are "slipping between the cracks." This means that black people need several simultaneous efforts: (1) monitoring the management and use of test results, (2) participating in construction of the tests to reduce bias of all kinds, (3) participating in planning for implementation of testing, and for revising testing plans, at local and state levels, (4) ensuring that there is compensatory instruction at the lower levels so that students are less likely to fail at the end of the high school experience, (5) remedial instruction and re-testing for end-of-high school failures, (6) tutorial and other instruction so that black children learn test-taking skills, increase their vocabularies, learn to work speedily and accurately, overcome their fear of test-taking.

Test results can be used against teachers, as well. If students score poorly it is said that teachers did not teach them well. Students and teachers have a vested interest in working together to ensure that students pass competency tests. Parents and citizens have an obligation to require of school systems adequate notification of performance standards and requirements, along with dates for implementation of these standards. Malpractice lawsuits have begun, and no doubt will increase if schools fail to meet standards established by minimum competency tests.58/

Black children, their parents, and their organized groups need to understand that the current mood is to test us out of the educational and employment pictures. It needs to be understood that the competition has increased for scarce places in education and in employment and the nation is turning against affirmative action in education and employment. The feeling is that people should merit education and employment opportunity, and merit is more than often determined by test scores.

While we as a group fail to score high on tests, the testing movement is growing and tests are being used as selecting and sorting devices -- all in the name of merit to get the best qualified. Blacks have sought a moratorium on testing, but instead of getting that we are getting an escalation of the testing movement.

If more of us fail to receive high school diplomas because we are alleged to be incompetent, we will not be candidates for college. If we fail the National Teachers Exam, we will not be candidates for teaching positions. If we fail the Graduate Record Exam, the Medical School Exam, etc, we will not get into professional schools. If black graduates of law schools fail the bar exams, they can't become practicing lawyers, etc.

We will indeed be remiss, in fact it will be unforgivable, if we who

understand this fail to help the thousands of black children who through ignorance and innocence fall victim to test failure.

E. The Stiffening of Graduation Requirements. Competency testing is only one of the ways in which high schools are tightening requirements. Edward Fiske reported in the New York Times that at least 20 states have increased the number of academic courses necessary for a high school diploma, and more than 15 other states are considering such steps. This has occurred in the last three years.[59] English, mathematics, science, and computer courses are receiving priority. In Florida some schools have increased their day from six periods to seven. California has restored statewide graduation requirements that were abolished in 1969.[60] Many of these initiatives originated from public pressures within the states -- from parents, political and business leaders -- not from educators, education organizations, or the sheaf of school studies now forthcoming.

Although some parents and groups argue that the additional requirements are unfair, they are being instituted in the name of improving educational quality. It is clear that black students must meet these requirements, and that without motivation and the special attention of mature adults who care about them and minister to their intellectual needs, many of these students will fail. Black students and their families must be made aware of current trends that could be inimical to them, and must be assisted so they survive academically. More-educated people will be needed in the world of the future, not less-educated people. The future of the ill-informed is not clear at this point, but the situation is very clear. There will be no need for ignorance, and little tolerance for people who fail to contribute to the social order.

Neoconservatives and the current national administration are saying that the civil rights efforts and the quest for equality over the past 25 to 30 years have caused many of the problems existing in America today. Also it is held that the quest for equity in education has caused the problems in public education. Remember John Gardner's old question, "can we be equal and excellent too?" The answer today seems to be "no," and the emphasis is on excellence, not on equality or equity. The real trend is to try to eliminate public schooling as a quality education option. The current administration would like to have private schools subsidized at public expense through vouchers, tuition tax credits, etc., and they have no interest in equal educational opportunity for blacks or the poor.

F. Self-help. In October, 1983, middle-class black parents and community leaders in Maryland's Montgomery County organized themselves around the goal of increasing the school achievement of their offspring, many of whom are not performing at the level expected of them by their families. Since these children and youth have been spared the hardships imposed by poverty and the limitations imposed by restricted life experiences, their parents know that something is amiss with respect to racial/ethnic relationships, school effectiveness, and/or student initiative/effort. Only 34% of black youth passed the competency tests in Montgomery County. The important thing is that the parents and community leaders have pledged to assume a responsible role in the quest to solve

the existing school achievement problem; they are not "passing the buck."

John Ogbu's research showed that in Stockton, California at school and in the community black children diverted most of their efforts away from schoolwork and into nonacademic settings. Ogbu believes that "the poor school performance of black children is partly a result of not putting enough time, effort, and perseverance into their schoolwork." He reported that in interviews black children explained to him that one of the reasons that Chinese, Japanese, and some white children do well in school is that they spend more time and effort on schoolwork than do black students.[61] Ogbu believes that because blacks realize that they face a job ceiling in the larger world they develop a variety of coping mechanisms that do not enhance school success. Also, an antagonism and distrust has developed between blacks and the schools based on a history of segregated and inferior education. This makes it difficult for blacks to accept and follow school rules, he says.

Black teenagers need much more information about contraception, pregnancy, and childbirth, including the economic and social costs of childrearing. Data from the National Center for Health Statistics show that of some 665,790 out-of-wedlock births in 1980, more than half (327,737) were to blacks as compared with 320,063 to whites.[62] So many of these births are to teenagers, who thereby limit not only their life chances but those of their offspring. Self-help efforts must include reducing these out-of-wedlock births to black youth.

Teenage girls who give birth often do not complete high school, and thereby limit their own life chances and those of their young as well. Even if they do return to school, they are burdened with responsibilities of adulthood at a time when they should be relatively carefree and free to learn what is being taught in school. Instead, they must juggle school assignments with parental responsibilities -- usually without sufficient funds to pay for child care or to participate in activiites that would help them to grow and develop as people.

Changes in the black family have become a great concern in the black community. In 1980 half of the black families with children present were one-parent families, and most of these were headed by single women.[63] Many of these women are undereducated, underemployed, or unemployed, which means that their households suffer social, economic, and environmental disadvantages compared with the majority population and compared with two-parent households in the black population. Race, social class, gender, lack of opportunity, job ceiling, insufficient education and skills, all interact to create ever-present and new crises for low-income black families -- especially those headed by women. Black churches, community organizations, sororities, fraternities, and other groups must assist these families in the short run. In the long run better schooling is needed, along with societal change that will show urban youth that they do have a chance for a meaningful future in this nation.

VII. CONCLUSION

Urban education became the "whipping boy" for the nation's ills after

1954. When it became clear that the nation could not prevent public school desegregation forever, city schools and black youth were left behind as whites fled to the suburbs and to private or parochial schools. Overcrowding in the 1950's, caused by the baby boom, led to double shifts in urban schools and to social promotions as waves of the young were moved on to make space for the numbers behind them. Resistance to continued segregation and inferior education caused black parents and community leaders to take an activist role to change school board composition, principals, and some teachers. This led to some parent-school hostility and antagonism.

The permissiveness of the 1960's led many youth to believe that they need not learn to read, write, or compute well. They were told that they could get necessary information from television, and that calculators would work their math problems. They hoped that they could talk their way through life, and even in the oral realm the use of cultivated language was not taught or encouraged in too many schools. The Puritan-Protestant work ethic declined, and like many other Americans some teachers and students exerted less effort than had their counterparts in the past.

At the same time, federal programs in education came into being. They were funded for short periods, and came and went in schools before anyone knew whether or not the innovations were workable. Neoconservative critics declared that the programs had failed by 1972, only seven years after they had been legislated, ignoring the fact that it takes time for children to learn and even more time when those children and their families have had generations of imposed handicaps and hardships that would inhibit learning. The mental ability of blacks to learn academic materials was once again in question.

The economic hardships of the 1970's and the more conservative national leadership compounded the conditions cited above. By the end of 1980 all of these factors had created a social situation that was, and is, mind-boggling.

Urban schools can work, but we as a nation must rededicate ourselves to making them work. In 1983 four schools in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area received awards for excellence from the U.S. Department of Education: Brookland Elementary and Jefferson Junior High in Washington, D.C., George Mason Junior High in Falls Church, Va., and T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Va. The awards were based on impressive student performance on standard achievement and minimum competency tests, low dropout rates, and high daily attendance rates.[64/] These are new beginnings, and it is our challenge -- and society's -- to see that they are extended.

FOOTNOTES

I am indebted to Miss Carol North for research assistance in locating materials for this paper, and to Dr. Edmonia W. Davidson for her wisdom and insight on urban education over time.

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CEREMONIES IN CIVIL RIGHTS:

A THIRTY YEAR RETROSPECTIVE on the LAW and RACE

By
Derrick Bell

I. AN INTRODUCTORY COMPARISON

Monday evening, May 17, 1954, was a night for celebration. An office full of ecstatic NAACP workers in Manhattan, as well as blacks throughout the country, were doing just that as they hailed the bright new era all assumed would arrive with the landmark decision in Brown v. Education[1] handed down by the Supreme Court earlier that day. The case was not easily won. It was the culmination of two decades of planning and litigation.[2] At the least, a party was in order.

The NAACP staff hailed the high Court's opinion with cheers, toasts, and impromptu dancing, but according to one report, Thurgood Marshall, one of the chief architects of the litigation wandered, morosely, through the happy throng frowning: "You fools go ahead and have your fun," he said, "but we ain't begun to work yet." [3]

Marshall's prediction was both prophetic as to the future, and a highly accurate commentary on the black experience with laws said to end or diminish racism. There had been freedon festivities before. The hopes of blacks had soared when the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were added to our fundamental law. Even earlier when Abraham Lincoln ended slavery with an executive order, slaves were overjoyed at the very prospect of life without chains. But the Emancipation Proclamation, by its very terms, extended freedom to only those slaves living in areas under the control of the Confederacy.[4]

In effect, the document was of no legal value to those who needed it most. And yet the "good news" that freedom had come was no less valued as symbol, as promise of what might some day be real. The soon to be former slaves reveled in future hopes, tempered by recognition of present perils. Ambrose Douglass, a former North Carolina slave reported how it was in those areas where freedom depended on the presence of Union troops and the ever-changing military situation during the Civil War:

> I guess we musta celebrated 'Mancipation about twelve times in Harnett County. Every time a bunch of No'thern sojers would come through they would tell us we was free and we'd begin celebration'. Before we would get through somebody else would tell us to go back to work, and we would go.[5]

The historical paradox here has significance for contemporary conditions in civil rights law. The slaves rejoiced because the Union soldiers told them that President Lincoln had set them free. But the Emancipation Proclamation was motivated far more by political imperatives than humanitarian concerns. Lincoln had promised to free the slaves if it would help save the Union. Symbolically, his action had great meaning.

Legally, it was worthless.

As a matter of law, when the Union troops were in the area, slaves were able to celebrate a form of de facto freedom, but legally they were not free. When, on the other hand, the troops departed and the slaves were ordered back to work, they were, even in their coerced compliance "covered" by Lincoln's order and thus entitled to their freedom.

Today, we are witness to an increasingly grim national scene of black people sinking ever deeper into the misery of unemployment, crime, broken families, and out-of-wedlock births, all the indicia of an exploited, colonized people. These multitudes are without jobs, decent homes, viable educations. Their options are few, their reasons for hope virtually nonexistent. And yet all blacks, including these, are covered by more laws protecting them against racially discriminatory treatment than any of their black ancestors.

As with the slaves in Harnett County, the masses of poor blacks have legal rights that are worthless and unmet economic needs that threaten life itself. They lack the schooling, skills, or financial resources needed to survive, much less succeed in a society where manhood is measured by job and worth is defined by income. They, like Harriet Tubman, remain "strangers in a strange land." And because poor blacks remain outcasts in this country, the greater opportunites extended to better-off blacks are diluted by their poverty, diminished by their despair.

How could an era that began with so much hope have brought so many black beneficiaries so much grief? By what processes have the masses been excluded from opportunities that have helped some of their more fortunate bretheren gain education, income, and status? This brief retrospective of the years since 1954 is intended to provide at least the basis for discussing how blacks could have come so far and yet made so little progress against the racism that made slaves of the forebears until 1865, and burdened their descendants with varying versions of color-coded, sub-citizenship from then until now.

II. SEEKING CIVIL RIGHTS IN SIMPLE DIGNITY

There was widespread hope in 1954 that the time had come to bring home to America the freedom the country helped achieve abroad during World War II. And then in ringing phrases, the Supreme Court had given substance to that hope. By ruling that segregated public facilities, even though "separate but equal" were unconstitutional, the Court gave the country, at last, an interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendmant's equal protection clause that from the beginning was essential to insure the citizenship rights of blacks.

It is now 30 years later and, in terms of a legal precedent, the decision in the Brown case has become as important a legal standard as the Constitutional provision it re-empowered. But like the Civil War Amendments intended to secure in law the citizenship rights blacks were

promised after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Brown decision did not automatically eliminate any of the discriminatory policies and practices it condemned.

Brown, like the earlier black freedom acts, created an atmosphere of hope celebrated in the context of law-inspired ritual. For the black victims of racism, the Brown decision was, in effect, a civil rights ceremony. Almost miraculously, blacks used the symbol of Brown to transform themselves, as Judge Robert L. Carter has put it, from supplicants, "seeking, pleading, begging to be treated as full-fledged members of the human race. . ." to citizens entitled to equal treatment as a matter of law.[6] Thus endowed, they were able in the next decade to do for themselves what without their faith-based courage and persistence neither the society nor its law would have undertaken for them.

Three decades after the Brown decision, it is clear that now Associate Supreme Court Justice, Thurgood Marshall, had more than one reason for not joining in the party at the NAACP's headquarters. Marshall's experience as a civil rights lawyer would certainly have put him on notice that the South would not eliminate oppressive racial policies simply because the country's highest court had tardily reached the conclusion that those obviously immoral policies were illegal as well.

Pessimism about the likely slow pace of compliance was shared by many other thoughtful observers who foresaw that whites, particularly in the South, would not easily surrender their Jim Crow-given privileges and power. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois predicted that the South would not comply with the Brown decision for many years, "long enough to ruin the education of millions of black and white children." [7] The loss, Dr. DuBois warned would include the jobs of thousands of black teachers, the exploitation of legal research by black scholars, and the decline of black culture."[8]

Black faith in American law is, given the history of our suffering and exploitation under that law, without parallel. Such faith has its costs including an ideological myopia regarding the real limits on change that can be provided in fact by statutes and court decisions that promise much in theory. We are in the debt of long-time, New York activist, Preston Wilcox, who preaches "no one can free us but ourselves." And the fact is that while having the "law on our side" after Brown made the task less difficult, virtually all the gains made in the quest to share the benefits as well as the burdens of citizenship in this country, resulted from black belief, determination, and sheer courageous persistence. Indeed, some of the most meaningful change, including the affirmative action programs in employment and college admissions, were brought about with very few legal initiatives and the limited approval these policies have received from the courts has come amidst the most serious expressions of judicial misgivings.

This fact should be better understood than it is. That it is not can be attributed to the dynamics of racial reform in this country. Blacks strive as hard as they can to eliminate a racial policy the injustice of which is clear and compelling, but there is little or no response until whites or at least whites who set policy perceive that their interests

will be advanced by acceding to the black demands.

The white response, when it comes, is of course said to be motivated not by self-interest, but rather by long-held but, regrettably, only recently expressed concerns about racial justice. Blacks, always magnanimous in racial victory or, at least inured to the hypocrisy of whites on racial matters, accept the reasons offered without question. In any event, by that point blacks are likely already hard at work on the next racial goal and the highly stylized passion play begins anew.

These are some of the racial patterns that characterize the last 30 years of litigation and legislation intended to advance the cause of equal opportunity. In fact, the whole history of black-white relations in this country is not different. The situations change, scenes are altered, but the plot and, unfortunately, the outcome, repeat themselves every few generations.

Paradoxically, the civil rights movement of the last generation both enabled the progress of some blacks, and is the likely source of the plight of many others. After May 17, 1954, there were few who doubted that the courts, particularly the federal courts, were the principal levers through which racial injustice was to be cured. Today, not only is the general view quite different, but we are discovering that the contemporary understanding was the correct assessment three decades ago.

III. GAINING RACIAL DIGNITY THROUGH EQUAL ACCESS TO PUBLIC FACILITIES

The court-created doctrine of "separate but equal" was toppled by Brown v. Board of Education, a school desegregation case, but much to the despair of NAACP lawyers anxious to push ahead with ending separate school systems, most requests for legal help in the first few years after 1954 were to challenge segregation in public places of business, travel, and recreation rather than in public schools.

A factor, of course, was the tremendous white resistance to any move toward compliance with the school desegregation mandate of Brown, but there was also the overpowering desire of blacks to be free of the simultaneously felt emotions of rage and humiliation engendered with every contact with segregated facilities.

Blacks in the South did not need to look far for the hated signs designating "white" and "colored." They were everywhere including not only hotels, restaurants, theatres, and public conveyances, but also libraries, hospitals, and even cemeteries. As John Hope Franklin wrote, "no detail was too small" for inclusion in the system of legal segregation.[9/]

It is little short of amazing that a whole generation of black people have been born and grown to adulthood without either memory or comprehension of law-enforced policies that "made of our eating and drinking, our buying and selling, our labor and housing, our rents, our railroads, our orphanages and prisons, our recreations, our very

institutions of religion, a problem of race as well as a problem of maintenance."[10] Those who survived the Jim Crow years have memories they will never forget and emotional scars unlikely ever to heal.

For blacks forced to endure it, segregation was an evil. The elaborate forms of its required observance served to reassure whites in their law-given racial superiority while reminding blacks that, regardless of their accomplishments, the badges of social servitude were as near as the next public facility.

Its impact on blacks was so great that lawyers and non-lawyers alike, came to equate segregation with racism. To get rid of Jim Crow, blacks felt, would be fatal to racism, and blacks were determined to get rid of Jim Crow. But in plotting its demise, blacks tended to forget its true origins.

Certainly, the Supreme Court had laid the legal foundation for the American system of Apartheid first in 1883 by striking down the federal civil rights laws intended to protect blacks against discrimination in pulic facilities,[11] and then in 1896 by upholding the validity of state segregation statutes in Plessy v. Ferguson.[12]

But as C. Vann Woodward has been at some pains to explain, the Court's actions ratified economic and political decisions that had already been made. Southern leaders in the post-Reconstruction era enacted segregation laws mainly at the insistence of poor whites who needed these barriers to retain a sense of superiority over blacks.[13] For neither the first nor the last time, the interests of blacks in non-discriminatory treatment in public facilities were sacrificed so that identifiably different groups of whites could settle a dispute and reestablish a working relationship.

By the end of the war from which America emerged as a world leader ready to compete head to head with Communist governments for the hearts and minds of emerging third-world countries virtually all of whose peoples had suffered racial exploitation under colonial rule, it ill served this country's image or its global aims to maintain official segregation of its black citizens. Both the NAACP and the government said as much to the Supreme Court during the school segregation arguments.

The federal government in an Amicus Curiae brief in the Brown case wrote:

> It is in the context of the present world struggle between freedom and tyranny that the problem of racial discrimination must be viewed...(for) discrimination against minority groups in the United States has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. Racial discrimination furnishes grist for the Communist propaganda mills, and it raises doubts even among friendly nations as to the intensity of our devotion to the democratic faith.[14]

And, NAACP lawyers warned that "survival of our country in the present international situation is inevitably tied to resolution of this

domestic issue."15/

The opinion in the Brown case made no reference to these points, but that is no proof that the Court or some of its members had not heard and did not recognize the obvious fact that the nation could no longer afford to maintain a racial compromise struck in the Nineteenth Century that was at least an international embarrassment and contained all the ingredients for domestic disaster.

The Brown decision did not expressly overrule Plessy, but simply held "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." For blacks, that was a sufficient start. In response to a flood of litigation attacking state-sponsored racial segregation in a variety of public facilities, the Court, perhaps anxious to justify its delayed implementation of school desegregation, invalidated "Jim Crow" policies in streetcars and buses, public parks, beaches and bathhouses, municipal golf courses, cafeterias, auditoriums, and courtroom seating.16/

Blacks though did not wait on the courts. Often court decisions represented the culmination of protest demonstrations and simple refusals to endure segregation any longer.17/ The famous Montgomery bus boycott which brought Martin Luther King, Jr., to national prominence, provided a definitive model for combining an aroused black community with effective litigation. According to Dr. King, the months of walking and the constant harassment of local officials had taken their toll and the boycott was about to collapse when the Supreme Court affirmed a lower federal court order voiding the state and local laws requiring segregation on Montgomery's motor buses.18/

Most public facilities which excluded or segregated blacks, of course, were privately owned, and not subject to constitutional constraints under the Supreme Court interpretations of the Reconstruction Amendments and post-Civil War civil rights acts. But just as the technical subtleties of the Emancipation Porclamation escaped the slaves, thousands of whom upon hearing of it simply left whether or not their masters resided in Confederate territory, so blacks in the post-Brown era began to challenge segregation through sit-ins and other protests wherever it existed. And, as with their slave forebears, direct action fueled by a determination to be free, created a dynamic force out of which emerged a climate of change for law.

While his colleagues on the Riot Commission of 1969 were not much amused, Federal Judge A. Leon Higginbotham summarized accurately the role of protests in desegregating public facilities when he wrote: "Recent advances in the field of civil rights have not come about and could never have come about solely through judicial tests made 'by one individual' while all others in the silent black majority waited on the ultimate constitutional determination."19/

As Judge Higginbotham saw it, "the major impetus for the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964 and 1965, which promised more equal access to the opportunities of our society, resulted from the determination, the spirit

and the nonviolent commitment of the many who continually challenge the constitutionality of racial discrimination and awakened the national conscience."[20]

Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964,[21] in direct response to the waves of sit-ins and other protests. Support for the goals of the civil rights protesters grew as Southern law enforcement officers reacted with violence and brutality to activities that under traditional law were trespasses, breaches of the peace, and disorderly conduct. But the Supreme Court reversed the convictions of thousands of protesters convicted in state courts of such charges,[22] and within months of its enactment, quickly upheld the constitutionality of Title II, the public accommodations provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[23]

It must be said that in the dozens of sit-in and other demonstration cases heard by the Supreme Court during the turbulent 1960s, the Supreme Court refused to establish any general First Amendment right to protest racial segregation. Peaceful convictions were reversed on procedural grounds, but if there was any evidence of violent conduct by the protesters, the Court generally allowed the convictions to stand.[24] And even in peaceful protests, the Court's sympathy and support for racial demonstrations declined noticeably after the urban disorders broke out in 1965.[25]

Political considerations caused Congress to exempt bona fide private clubs from coverage under the Civil Rights Act.[26] Predictably, places of entertainment tried every imaginable scheme to appear "private" for blacks while remaining "open" to whites. The courts have been quite diligent in piercing these shams, and the Supreme Court has not upheld the privacy claims of any case it has heard in this field.[27]

In 1983, in one of the cause celebre cases of the year, the Supreme Court rejected the claims of Bob Jones University that its discrimination against blacks was justified by sincerely held religious beliefs entitled to First Amendment protection.[28] The school had gone to court to secure its status as a tax-exempt charitable organization. The Internal Revenue Service had revoked that status because of the school's disciplinary rule subjecting to expulsion students that advocate or are engaged in interracial dating or marriage.[29]

The Supreme Court, with only one dissent, found the governmental interest in eradicating racial discrimination in education compelling, fundamental, overriding, and substantially outweighing whatever burden denial of tax benefits places on the schools' exercise of their religious beliefs. Thus, the Bob Jone University case became another in the long line of hard-won victories for civil rights lawyers. The legal principle sustained is important, but its practical value to most blacks is negligible. Few blacks will wish to enroll their children in a school where white supremacy is perceived to be the mandate of God.

And yet the Bob Jones litigation is more typical of civil rights cases than unique. Placing an unconscious and otherwise unjustifiable priority on attacking symbols of racism as they manifested themselves in

segregation policies has all too frequently led to victories that only a few blacks can afford to enjoy if, in fact, they are interested in the opportunity at all.

The protest movement that dramatically communicated black seriousness about desegregating public facilities was effective. Of course, as the late Roy Wilkins never tired of reminding us, black people were protesting in the early 1930's and before. But the early 1960's sit-ins provided proof that the concept of "creative disorder" urged by James Weldon Johnson back in 1919 as a tactic "more effective than a shotgun,"[30] could serve both to bring compliance with an important aspect of the Brown decision, and to suggest tactics likely to be needed to effect change in other areas where racial discrimination remained the dominant policy.

Segregation laws so fixed that they had become customs are now history. The open exclusion of blacks from places of public accommodation is no longer deemed acceptable, but racial discrimination in public places remains and often in quite blatant forms. Despite the abolition of de jure segregation, the determination of some whites to exercise dominance over blacks even if on the meanest grounds remains strong.[31] White determination of that character dilutes the right of equal access as to even the most successful blacks who must always remain vigilant that the outright rejection or the table by the kitchen is really because the facility is full.

More significant are the unemployment and other statistics revealing the crisis-level economic depression in much of the black community. Entitlement to stay at an expensive hotel or eat in a good restaurant remains a useless right for many blacks. And for all of us who once viewed segregated facilities as the heart of racism, there is every reason to know that the stigma of racial segregation, as painful as it was, constituted only one weapon in the seemingly endless arsenal of those who today view America as did those who founded it as a country intended for white people.

The pattern of great progress with less real change than was either expected or needed, detailed here at some length in the once all-important field of public accommodations, is quite similar to those experienced in other fields, education, voting, and employment, whose greater importance is now clear. But as the following reviews of the desegregation of voting, education, and employment opportunites will reveal, clarity of understanding does not always insure effectiveness of effort.

IV. SCHOOLS WITHOUT RACIAL LINES DO NOT AN EQUAL EDUCATION MAKE

Thirty years is a rather long time to learn the quite basic lesson in the title. Today, the statement that racial discrimination will not disappear because a school's population is racially balanced is obvious, even a truism. But given the goals of those civil rights lawyers whose earnest labors helped make the Brown decision a reality, the statement was both untrue and heretical.

Thurgood Marshall had argued to the Court that school desegregation meant no more than the elimination of assignments based solely on race. "If the (school district) lines are drawn on a natural basis, without regard to race or color, then I think that nobody would have any complaint."32/

Again, as with Jim Crow signs in public facilities, the enormous stigma of subordination symbolized by segregated school systems led us to believe that if school boards simply dropped race from their policymaking vocabulary, they would have gone as far as necessary to provide the equal educational opportunity mandated in the Brown decision. But the civil rights position in the public school litigation was complicated by the additional argument, supported by expert testimony, that black children were injured by lack of contact with white children and thus deprived of experience with whites. This position, as Diane Ravitch has pointed out, 33/ suggested that only an integration remedy would suffice.

Of course, for almost a decade after the Supreme Court spoke, implementation of Brown by even the most modest measure of desegregation was bitterly resisted. Outraged by what it deemed a betrayal of the late Nineteenth Century racial compromise that insured economic and political power to ruling-class whites and racism to the rest, large percentages of whites in the latter group rebelled against the Brown decision. The opposition received unwitting encouragement from the Supreme Court which rejected NAACP petitions calling for immediate compliance in favor of returning the cases to local federal courts for implementation "with all deliberate speed..."34/

The long weary years of litigation, the hundreds of cases filed, the delays, endless appeals and the slow exhaustion of judicial patience with the myriad of schemes by school boards designed to give the appearance of compliance while, in fact, perpetuating their segregated schools, all have been documented in a detail that need not be repeated here.35/

During those years of what civil right lawyers described as "trench warfare," judicial approval of any plan short of actually placing blacks and whites in the same schools insured that still-recalcitrant school boards would be able to further defer the obligation to eliminate their dual school systems. Added to the pragmatic attractions of an integration-oriented school desegregation remedy was the philosophical posture of those who saw Brown as the prescription for healing the society's racial wounds. Adherents of this view never tired of quoting Chief Justice Warren's stirring warning: "To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."36/

When in the late 1960's, school desegregation forces finally won several major legal victories requiring school systems to produce desegregation plans that did not rely on "freedom-of-choice" in order to render public schools non-identifable by race, and when racial balance-type formulas and the transportation of students were approved as means of bringing about a "unitary system," it seemed to reflect judicial

recognition and reaffirmance of the original understanding the Brown v. Board of Education required integration as the means of insuring equal educational opportunity.[37] At the time, one would have had to search hard within the civil rights community to find a different view.

School desegregation progress was markedly faster during the late 1960's and early 1970's. The federal government had joined civil rights forces both in the courtroom and, more importantly, in Congress where in 1965, passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, provided the very attractive carrot of large sums of federal money that might be jeopardized unless the district took steps toward eliminating segregated schools.

Compared to the snail's process of the first decade, school desegregation proceeded with relative speed until the mid-1970's when because of the large percentage of black students in big, urban school districts, civil rights attorneys began seeking metropolitan-wide remedies that would involve mainly white suburban districts in racial-balance desegregation plans with mainly black, inner-city areas. The opposition of Northern whites, already the equal to Southern ferocity in Boston, Pontiac, and elswhere, posed the threat of involving the hitherto exempt suburban school districts in racial-balance-oriented desegregation plans.

In a close 5-4 decision in the Detroit school case, the majority of the Court reversed a lower court order requiring consolidation of the 70% black Detroit system with 53 predominantly white suburban school districts.[38] Because, the majority said, there had been inadequate proof that Detroit's segregation was "substantially caused" by the suburban districts, they could not be held legally responsible.

In addition to the inadequate proof problem, the Court expressed concern that the remedy granted by the lower courts at the plaintiffs' request would cause extensive disruption in the structure of the 53 independent school districts, and would ignore the deeply-rooted tradition of local control of public education in this country.[39]

The Detroit decision did not entirely close the door on metropolitan-type relief in school cases, but the tough standards of proof have been met in only a few cases.[40] With more than one-half of all minority students living in school districts where the minority population is in excess of 60%, the Court's decision renders racial-balance plans unavailable in precisely those districts where without them, no meaningful desegregation is possible.

And beginning in 1976, the Court stiffened standards of proof in even those districts where large-scale busing would be limited to a single district. Arguments that segregation was unconstitutional regardless of how caused were rejected. Plaintiffs were required to prove that school officials had acted affirmatively to segregate the schools, and remedies were to be limited to the harm caused by the discrimination.[41] By digging deeper into school board records, civil rights lawyers were usually able to uncover the needed evidence of policies and practices that contributed to the segregated character of the school system.[42]

While not made a basis of their decision, the Court's withdrawal of support was likely influenced by the serious and steadily growing opposition to busing to effect school desegregation in general, and the overwhelming opposition to busing children between the inner city and the suburbs. The loss of federal government support and the lukewarm enthusiasm of blacks may have also diluted the commitment that only a few years before had translated into orders for desegregation plans promising "realistically to convert promptly to a system without a 'white' school and a 'Negro' school, but just schools."43/

Another possible drain on judicial commitment is the inconclusiveness of desegregation studies on the educational benefits of school desegregation as to either educational or socialization terms from black and white children. Studies at the time tended to provide modest support to the Brown vision: that a desegregated school under able and committed leadership, and given substantial community support, can be an effective instrument for both quality education and racial socialization. But there have been too few successful models of such institutions to much influence courts increasingly concerned with the tremendous costs and disruptions.

During this period of heightened resistance in large urban areas, some black parents became disenchanted with strategies of school desegregation that placed so great a burden on black children, cost so many jobs of black teachers and administrators, and closed so many black schools, not a few of which were in better condition than the schools attended by whites that remained open.

Local black groups in Atlanta, Detroit, Dallas, Portland, and elsewhere, opted for desegregation programs with the emphasis on improved schooling rather than racial balance.44/ Generally, such efforts were opposed by the national civil rights organizations and the lawyers on their legal staffs. For these committed integration fighters, the new obstacles: the increased resistance at local and national levels, the decline in judicial support, the inflation that made attainment of racial balance more expensive, the growth of black populations in urban areas that rendered it more difficult, all were dismissed as legally irrelevant.

They had achieved much by courageous persistence, and refused to waiver from their determination to implement Brown using racial balance measures developed in the hard-fought legal battles over the prior two decades.45/ But in their rigid stance, they unknowingly accomplished an interesting and potentially devestating role reversal in litigation strategies with their school board opponents.

During the arguments that led to the Brown decision, civil rights lawyers attacked the "separate but equal" principle as not only unjust to blacks, but also bad for the country's image, a barrier to development in the south, and harmful to its foreign policy. Lawyers for the states, on the other hand, argued for the status quo. Most eloquent among them was John W. Davis who argued that the Court had already construed the Fourteenth Amendment as encompassing racial segregation in the Plessy v. Ferguson case, and that this half-century precedent was entitled to stare decisis, literally that the matter is settled and so should remain. Davis

added:

> But be that doctrine what it may, somewhere, sometime to every principle comes a moment of repose when it has been so often announced, so confidently relied upon, so long continued, that it passes the limits of judicial discretion and disturbance.[46]

In the changing society of the 1950's, eloquence on behalf of the status quo was simply insufficient. Similarly, when in the mid-1970's, civil rights lawyers argued for the status quo of racial balance school desegregation remedies, while school board lawyers were pointing out the costs and disruptions of busing, again the argument related to current conditions proved more effective.

Greater tactical flexibility by civil rights policymakers may not have prevented the school desegregation campaign from becoming stalled so far from its goal, but rigidity on the issue of remedy increased the difficulty of meeting the challenge that sidetracked litigation, not only in schools but across the whole spectrum of civil rights.

V. RACIAL INJURY AS IRRELEVANCE WITHOUT PROOF OF INTENT

In the years before the Brown decision, the major challenge facing civil rights lawyers was convincing courts that a particular form of segregation or discrimination violated rights protected by the Constitution. There was seldom any difficulty proving that the white perpetrators intended to do what they were doing. The challenged law or policy either contained an explicit racial classification or its invidiously discriminatory purpose could be easily seen behind its facially neutral language.

When a Nineteenth Century Supreme Court held that blacks charged with crime were entitled under the Constitution to be tried before a jury from which blacks had not been systematically excluded, it struck down a West Virginia statute providing that: "no colored man was eligible to be a member of the grand jury or to serve on a petit jury in the State."[47]

And when a unanimous Court struck a down state-mandated housing segregation ordinance in St. Louis, they had before them a law that denied blacks the right to occupy houses in blocks in which the greater number of houses were occupied by white persons.[48] In its earliest decisions regarding the right of blacks to vote, the provisions under review were silent as to race, but the exclusionary intention was perfectly obvious when a Southern state in that post-Reconstruction period granted the right to register permanently to all those who had the franchise before a certain date and their descendants without complying with the educational requirements required of all other voters. The Court found such grandfather clauses were intended to enable illiterate whites to vote while disfranching ignorant blacks in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.[49]

There was little more difficulty in discerning that the White Primary rules in several Southern states were designed and intended to prevent blacks from voting in the only election that counted in that one-party region.[50] And in striking down the Alabama legislature's crude attempt to disfranchise black residents by altering the boundaries of Tuskegee from a rectangle to what the Court described as a 26-sided monster.[51] The new lines just happened to place all but a few of the town's black residents outside the town boundaries. In voiding the statute, the Court didn't even discuss whether the state intended to deny Tuskegee blacks their right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. The intent to discriminate on the basis of race was clear.

In the potentially explosive area of interracial sex and marriage, the Court was hardly anxious to address the issue, and refused review to two cases challenging anti-miscegenation statutes within a year of the Brown decision.[52] But a decade later, the Court in strong unanimous opinions invalidated both a Florida law authorizing more severe penalties for interracial cohabitation and adultery than for those crimes committed by persons of the same race,[53] and the Virginia statute prohibiting interracial marriage which the Court had unceremoniously avoided 12 years before.[54]

And, finally in the all-important area of employment, the Court found that a labor union that barred blacks as members had a duty under federal law to bargain fairly on behalf of black workers.[55] Applying a duty of fair representation to racial discrimination of an overt nature, courts have found the duty violated where a union sanctions invidious discrimination in the handling of grievances,[56] job classifications,[57] or other terms and conditions of employment.[58]

Civil rights lawyers made very little progress against employment discrimination under either federal labor laws,[59] or government executive orders.[60] The field developed rapidly though after the effective date of Title VII (the Equal Employment Opportunity Act) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[61] For a dozen or more years, the courts provided quite broad readings to the language of Title VII in order to protect both victims whose harm was attributable to overtly discriminatory policies, and those that, as Chief Justice Burger explained in the landmark case of Grigg v. Duke Power Co., those disadvantaged by "practices, procedures, or tests neutral on their face, and even neutral in terms of intent, . . . (that) operate to 'freeze' the status quo of prior discriminatory employment practices."[62]

Employers, the Court said, could maintain tests, education requirements, and other qualifications that, in fact, served to exclude more blacks than whites, only if it could be shown that such standards were a business necessity. The complexities of employment discrimination cases soon resembled Anti-Trust litigation as civil rights lawyers sought to prove that a wide range of criteria utilized by employers and unions for hiring and advancement served to discriminate against minorities in violation of their rights under Title VII or one of the other civil rights acts.

For a time the courts remained supportive, but as the Court had tardily discovered in the school desegregation cases, racial discrimination was not like an allergy that could be cleared up without cost or loss to others. All too often, promotional, seniority, and layoff policies that disadvantaged blacks gave advantages to whites that they had enjoyed for so long that they seemed natural, right, vested, and surely not to be "given away" to further the equality of blacks.

Moreover, many of the employment policies attacked in discrimination suits were not only not obviously discriminatory, they often served an important and accepted societal need. After all, civil rights critics argued and the Supreme Court came to agree, in the much-discussed case of Washington v. Davis, if the courts struck down every law or rule that had a disproportionately adverse impact on blacks, "a whole range of tax, welfare, public service, regulatory, and licensing statutes," might fall.[63]

While Washington v. Davis was not a Title VII case, but rather an employment discrimination case brought under the Constitution, later courts have tended to apply its standard to all race discrimination cases. In effect, the Court in Davis required blacks to prove that the law or policy alleged to be invidiously discriminatory was enacted or enforced for that purpose. The fact that the impact of the challenged policy falls more heavily on blacks is not irrelevant, but standing alone that fact will not entitle blacks to relief.

This standard has been damaging not simply because there may be no available proof that a standard now serving to exclude blacks (as well as serve some socially useful role) was enacted for a discriminatory purpose, but the long decades of overt discrimination serve to disadvantage blacks, particularly when qualifications are built on middle-class perceptions of what is appropriate.

The Court, for example, approved South Carolina's use of the National Teachers' Examination (NTE) as a standard for hiring and classifying teachers despite the fact that it serves to disqualify 83% of black applicants, but only 17.5% of white applicants.[64] A lower court had found the NTE met the business necessity test even though only two other states use it for initial certification, and South Carolina is the only state that uses the test in determining pay.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965,[65] eliminated many of the techniques and devices that Southerners had used (along with violence and intimidation) to maintain political power, but the Supreme Court has held that a challenge to an election policy not covered under the Act must meet the intent standards of Washington v. Davis. Many such policies with discriminatory impact were adopted prior to passage of the act and, unlike poll taxes and literacy tests, were not specifically prohibited in the act.

At-large or multi-member elections, for example, in which all voters in a district get to vote for all representatives elected to that district are favored in many jurisdictions because they require candidates to

become known across a whole district, and prevent elected officials from developing parochial interests as to a portion of a district (which elected him or her) to the detriment of the balance of the district's welfare. But multi-member districts tend to operate so as to dilute the voting strength of racial or political elements. If blacks are in a minority, and voting patterns are polarized along racial line, blacks though voting in large numbers will fail to gain any representation. This is what happened in Mobile, Alabama. In City of Mobile v. Bolden, black voters challenged the city's at-large method of electing city commissioners which had been in effect since 1911. Because of the at-large election system, no blacks have been able to gain election notwithstanding a 35% black population. The Supreme Court found the blacks had not proven the necessary intent, and evidently were persuaded by the City which argued that because blacks had been disfanchised when the at-large election policy was adopted, that procedure was not done for the purpose of discriminating against them.

Other electoral techiques, including redrawing election lines, annexing additional territory, or altering registration and voting requirements, all to disadvantage black voters or dilute the strength of their vote, continue to be used despite the prohibitions against some of these tactics contained in civil rights laws. And as Rev. Jesse Jackson proved to Justice Department officials during the past year, there are more than a few deep South areas where whites continue to use crude deceit, blatant economic intimidation, and overt threats of physical violence to discourage blacks from voting.

The frustrations experienced by civil rights workers in the voting field are not more severe than those suffered by lawyers representing blacks charged with crimes involving "racial issues," usually a black defendant and an alleged white victim. In such cases, prosecutors generally remove all prospective black jurors, and except in those areas of the country that are overwhelmingly black, the defendant is tried with an all-white jury or one with only a token black selected because the prosecutor expects the black to vote with the white majority.

As indicated earlier, the Supreme Court recognized as early as 1880 that black criminal defendants are denied a fair trial if all other blacks are systematically removed from the jury that will determine their guilt or innocence.[66/] But the preemptory challenge effectively nullifies the value of a non-discriminatory jury for black defendants.

In Swain v. Alabama,[67/] civil rights lawyers attacked the validity of the peremptory challenge as used to remove all potential black jurors in a case in which the black defendant was charged with the rape of a white woman. The Court in rejecting the challenge, explained that the peremptory challenge system is extremely important in the American system of justice, and that the prosecutor's action in striking all blacks would not violate the Constitution unless defendant could show that blacks have been systematically struck over many cases, then perhaps a prima facie case of discrimination would be made out.

The standard of proof in the Swain case is difficult for a criminal defendant to meet. Few have tried and, at present, the law enabling the nullification of the right to a non-discriminatory challenge remains in effect.

Efforts to prove that suburban areas are using zoning and other land use planning devices to exclude low income developments that might attract blacks and other minorities have been stymied by similar standards requiring proof that the policy, neutral on its face, is being used for the purpose of racial discrimination.[68/] Litigation designed to curb police brutality and other racial harrassment by law enforcement figures has been rejected because plaintiffs are unable to exhibit the "smoking gun" of defendant's intent to violate the constitutional rights of blacks.[69/]

The heat and rancor emanating from the decade-long debate over both the ethical as well as the legal appropriateness of affirmative action policies is due to the continued unwillingness of many whites to recognize not only that blacks have been unjustly dealt with throughout the history of the country, but that those injustices both disadvantaged blacks and provided advantages to whites that would not have existed without racism. And, to the extent there is an intellectual understanding of the damage done blacks by racial discrimination, there remains massive resistance to shouldering any measure of responsibility for making the victim whole.

This resistance is so fierce that even affirmative action programs that would benefit whites as well as blacks are opposed. Consider Brian Weber, who went all the way to the Supreme Court to challenge an apprentice training program established by the Kaiser Aluminum Company a part of an employment discrimination suit settlement. The training program, which Mr. Weber's union had not been able to get started, accepted trainees on the basis of seniority, with the provisor that at least 50% of the trainees would be black until the percentage of black skilled workers was roughly equal to the percentage of blacks in the local labor force.

Because one of seven blacks chosen for the program had less seniority than Mr. Weber and other white applicants who did not get in, he challenged the program as unconstitutional reverse discrimination. The Supreme Court, although its members could not agree on grounds, approved the program as a voluntarily-adopted plan adopted to eliminate traditions patterns of racial segregation.[70/] But the wonder is that Weber and hosts of supporters sought to scuttle a program that would aid as many whites as blacks. In a more rational world, Weber, disppointed at not being selected for the training program, would have brought suit against Kaiser to broaden the program.

VI. RACIAL INTEGRATION AS STRATEGY RATHER THAN IDEOLOGY

Even in the latter part of the Twentieth Century, rationality in racial responses remains the surprise rather than the expected. There is now as there was when the Supreme Court approved the imposition of

segregation laws on a people still weighed down by the badges and incidents of slavery, a desire bordering on obsession to declare the racial problem ended, not at all costs, but at no cost.

Only so great a need must have moved the Supreme Court to find it appropriate to invalidate federal civil rights laws in 1883 because "When a man has emerged from slavery, and by the aid of beneficent legislation has shaken off the inseparable concomitants of that state, there must be some stage in the progress of his elevation when he takes the rank of a mere citizen, and ceases to be the special favorite of the laws. . . " 71/

The fact is, and a not overly careful examination of legal history will reveal it, blacks have never been the special favorites of the laws. Rather, we have been the involuntary sacrifices in compromises between differing groups of white men, and the beneficiaries of pro-civil rights actions taken primarily to protect or further white interests. The Emancipation Proclamation and the Brown decision are only two of the more dramatic instances when blacks through courageous self-help gave substance and movement to the empty and often hypocritical symbolism that characterizes so much of civil rights policy.

But the worsening condition of so many black Americans as recorded annually in these Urban League reports presents a challenge to blacks able to advance and perhaps prosper under the aegis of these laws that we ignore at our peril. We recognize, despite improved status, that the removel of racial classifications does not insure equal opportunity, and the doctrine of equality, undefined and tailored to idealistic hopes rather than realistic assessments, can pose an unneeded barrier to still needed racial remediation.

Racism remains a principal ally of the country's economic and political structure, and will remain a barrier to opportunity for blacks until remedies needed for blacks encompass as well the masses of whites whose subordinant status in the society is less dramatic than that of blacks but no less real. Coalitions have been tried, but whites, particularly working class whites, are mesmerized by the race question which as in the post-Reconstruction period remains "an everlasting, overshadowing problem that served to hamper the progress of poor whites and prevent them from becoming realistic in social, economic, and political matters."72

A racial schism that has lasted so long will not easily be healed. But civil rights policies, where possible, should not needlessly make matters worse. A Rainbow Coalition of the disadvantaged, while not new and easier to proclaim than to bring into being, remains a concept worth working toward by civil rights lawyers as well as politicians. And even if whites continue to ignore, blacks should not forget the still relevant advice of a Populist Party leader who told a meeting of black and white farmers in 1892:

> You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings. You are made to hate each other because upon that hatred is rested the keystone of the

arch of financial despotism which enslaves you both. You are deceived and blinded that you may not see how this race antagonism perpetuates a monetary system which beggers both.[73]

FOOTNOTES

1. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

2. Richard Kluger, Simple Justice (1976).

3. Lerone Bennett, Confrontation: Black and White 221-22 (1965).

4. Proclamation of January 1, 1863, No. 17, 12 Stat. 1268 (1863).

5. Leon Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery, 173 (1979).

6. Robert L. Carter, The Warren Court and Desegregation, 67 Mich. L. Rev. 237, 243 (1968).

7. W.E.B. DuBois, The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois 333 (1968).

8. W.E.B. DuBois, Two Hundred Years of Segregated Schools, in W.E.B. DuBois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1920-63, 278, 284 (P. Foner ed 1970).

9 John Hope Franklin, History of Racial Segregation in the United States, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 34 (Mar. 1956) 6-8.

10. Id.

11. Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

12. 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

13. See generally, C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow 7, 53 (1955); and C. Vann Woodward, Reunion and Reaction (1951).

14. Brief for Appellants at 194, Brown v. Board of Educ., 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

15. Both quotes are cited in Albert Blaustein & Clyde Ferguson, Desegregation and the Law 11-12 (1962).

16. See, e.g. Thomas Brooks, Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement - 1940-1970 (1974).

17. See, e.g., Boynton v. Virginia, 364 U.S. 454 (1960) (black law student's trespass conviction for refusing to leave the white section of a bus terminal restaurant reversed and segregation found in violation of the Interstate Commerce Act.)

18. Martin King, Stride Toward Freedom, 151-153, 157-160 (1958). The case was Browder v. Gayle, 142 F. Supp. 707 (N.D. Ala. 1956), aff'd per curiam, 352 U.S. 903 (1956).

19. A. Leon Higginbotham, Additional Statement, Commission Statement on Civil Disobedience, National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence 16 (Dec. 1969).

20. Id.

21. 78 Stat. 243-245, 42 U.S.C. SS2000a-2000a-6.

22. See, e.g., Brown v. Louisiana, 383 U.S. 131 (1966), (breach of peace convictions of protesters who quietly sat-in at public library that barred blacks reversed); Cox v. Louisiana, 379 U.S. 536 and 559 (1965), (convictions on variety of charges growing out of demonstrations in front of a courthouse reversed); Bell v. Maryland, 378 U.S. 226 1964), (trespass convictions for sit-ins dismissed because of enactment of state public accommodations law); Peterson v. City of Greenville, 378 U.S. 244 (1963), (convictions reversed because segregation mandated by state law).

23. Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States, 379 U.S. 241 (1964); Katzenbach v. McClung, 379 U.S. 294 (1964).

24. See, e.g., Ford v. Tennessee, 377 U.S. 994 (1964), (protesters ran down aisles and seated themselves during segregated outdoor religious service, despite requests to stay in the rear); Jones v. Georgia, 379 U.S. 935 (1964), (defendants reportedly acted raucously in and about a church).

25. Adderley v. Florida, 385 U.S. 39 (1966), (trespass convictions of college students for protests on jail property upheld in 5-4 opinion even though activity was quite similar to that in Edwards v. South Carolina, 372 U.S. 229 (1963), where convictions for a protest on statehouse grounds were reversed).

26. 78 Stat. 243, 42 U.S.C. S2000(e).

27. See e.g., Daniel v. Paul, 395 U.S. 298 (1969), (efforts to transform a 232 acre amusement area into a private club were deemed a subterfuge); Tillman v. Wheaton-Haven recreational Association, Inc., 410 U.S. 431 (1973), (swimming pool association made up of neighborhood residents living within a mile of the facility were not an exempt private club, and could not bar a black who purchased home within the area).

28. 51 U.S.L.W. 4593 (May 24, 1983). The decision also consolidated and affirmed the lower court's decision in Goldsboro Christian Schools, Inc. v. United States.

29. The federal government had supported the no-exemption for schools and other charitable entities with racially discriminatory policies until 1982 when the Treasury Department, under instructions from the Justice Department, reversed its interpretation of the Internal Revenue Code.

    The change in policy evoked strong protests from civil rights groups, and when the government withdrew from the appeals in the Bob Jone and Goldsboro Christian School cases, the Supreme Court appointed former Department of Transportation secretary, William Coleman, to represent the interests opposed to approval of tax-exempt status for the two schools.

30. Arthur Waskow, From Race Riot to Sit-In 1919 and the 1960's 203 (1967).

31. See, e.g., McCuller v. Gaudry, 59 Or. App. 13, 650 P.2d 148 (1982), (black refused admission to disco because of dress though white customers dressed more casually than he); Director, Division on Civil Rights v. Slumber, Inc., 82 N.J. 41, 413 A.2d 6032 (1980), (black patrons segregated on second floor of motel and are discouraged from using motel's recreational facilites); Gaudry v. Bureau of Labor and Industries, 48 Or. App. 589, 617 P.2d 668 (1982), (white woman with black date refused admission to nightclub on ground she has no proof of age although she produces four pieces of I.D.).

32. Argument: The Oral Argument Before the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1952-1955, 48 (Leon Friedman, ed. 1969).

33. Diane Ravitch, Desegregation: Varieties of Meaning," in Shades of Brown: New Perspectives on School Desegregation, 30 (Derrick Bell, ed. 1980).

34. Brown v. Board of Education II, 349 U.S. 294, 301 (1955).

35. See e.g., J. Harvie Wilkinson III, From Brown to Bakke (1979); Stephen Wasby, Anthony D'Amato, and Rosemary Metraler, Desegregation from Brown to Alexander (1977).

36. Brown v. Board of Education 347, U.S. 483, 494 (1954).

37. Green v. County School Board of New Kent Co., 391 U.S. 430 (1968); Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

38. Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. 717 (1974).

39. Id. at 742-745.

40. See Evans v. Buchanan, 555 F.2d 373 (3rd Cir. 1977); 435 F. Supp. 832 (D. Del. 1977); 447 F. Supp. 982 (D. Del. 1978) (Wilmington, Del.); Cunningham v. Grayson, 541 F. 2d 538 (6th Cir. 1976) (Louisville, Ky.).

41. Austin Independent School Dist. v. United States, 429 U.S. 990 (1976); School Dist. of Omaha v. United States, 433 U.S. 667 (1977); Brennan v. Armstrong (Milwaukee), 433 U.S. 672 (1977).

42. See, e.g., Columbus Bd. of Educa. v. Penick, 443 U.S. 449 (1979); and Dayton Bd. of Educ. v. Brinkman, 443 U.S. 526 (1979).

43. Green v. Co. School Bd. of New Kent Co., 391 U.S. 430, 442 (1968).

44. Calhoun v. Cook, 362 F. Supp. 1249, 1250-51 (N.D.Ga. 1973); aff'd. 522 F.2d 717 (5th Cir. 1975), 525 F. 2d 1203 (5th Cir. 1975), (Blacks in Atlanta settled their school desegregation suit, giving up the possibility of further racial balance in their already 82 percent black district in return for full faculty and employee desegregation and the board's commitment to name blacks to a number of top administrative posts including that of the school superintendent.

Milliken v. Bradley II, 433 U.S. 267 (1977), (In Detroit, the Supreme Court approved a plan supported by local blacks that emphasized "educational components" as an appropriate compliance mechanism under Brown through which "equal educational opportunity could be made available to black students in the more than 80 percent black district.

Tasby v. Wright, 520 F. Supp. 683 (N.D. Tex 1976), (In Dallas, after a month-long hearing, a local federal court, acting at the request of a coalition of black, community groups, approved a mainly black subdistrict created during an earlier phase of the two-decade-long desegregation campaign. Testimony indicated that students attending schools in the black-led district earned achievement scores superior to those blacks in racially balanced schools.

45. The phenomenon is examined in Derrick Bell, Serving Two Masters: Integration Ideals and Client Interest in School Desegregation Litigation, 85 Yale L.J. (1976).

46. John W. Davis on behalf of the appellees in Briggs v. Elliott, Dec. 7, 1953, published in Argument at 215 (Leon Friedman, ed. 1969).

47. Strauder v. West Virgina, 100 U.S. 303, 304 (1880).

48. Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917).

49. Guinn v. United States, 238 U.S. 347 (1915).

50. Nixon v. Herndon, 273 U.S. 536 (1927), Texas statute barred participation by blacks in primary elections). See also, Smith v. AllWright, 321 U.S. 649 (1944); Terry v. Adams, 345 U.S. 461 (1953).

51. Gomillion v. Lightfoot, 364 U.S. 339 (1960).

52. Jackson v. State, 37 Ala. App. 519, 72 So. 2d 114, cert. denied, 348 U.S. 888 (1954),(black man who married a white woman convicted under Alabama's miscegenation law); Naim v. Naim, 197 Va. 80, 87 S.E.2d 749 (1955), remanded, 350 U.S. 891 (1955), reaffirmed, 197 Va. 734. 90 S.E.2d 849 (1956), appeal dismissed, 350 U.S. 985 (1956).

53. McLaughlin v. Florida, 379 U.S. 184 (1964).

54. Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. kl (1967).

55. Steele v. Louisville and Nashville Railroad, 323 U.S. 192 (1944).

56. Conley v. Gibson, 355 U.S. 41 (1957).

57. Brotherhood of R.R. Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U.S. 768 (1952).

58. Local 12, United Rubber Workers (Business League of Gadsden), 150 N.L.R.B. No. 18 (1964), (segregated lunch and work facilities).

59. See, National Labor Relations Act, 29 U.S.C. S151 et seq. (1968).

60. Executive Order 11246, 3 C.F.R. 611, 42 U.S.C. S2000e. E.O. 11246 is

a modern verson of Executive Order No. 8802, issued in June 1941 by President Franklin Roosevelt during the pre-World War II industrial mobilization.

61. 42 U.S.C. SS2000e et. seq. (1976). In addition, federal courts have granted relief under 42 U.S.C. S1981 (1976), a civil rights act passed after the Civil War and given new life in Jones v. Algred Mayer Co., 392 U.S. 409 (1968).

62. 401 U.S. 424, 430 (1971).

63. 426 U.S. 229,248 (1976).

64. United States v. South Carolina, 445 F. Supp. 1094 (D.S.C. 1977), aff'd mem. sub nom. National Educ. Assn. v. South Carolina, 434 U.S. 1026 (1978).

65. 446 U.S. 55 (1980). In a more recent case with similar facts, Rogers v. Lodge, 458 U.S. _____, 102 S. Ct. 3272 (1982), the Court affirmed a lower court finding that the at-large system of elections in Burke County, Georgia, while neutral when adopted, was maintained for invidious purposes.

66. Strauder v. West Virginia, 100 U.S. 339 (1880).

67. 380 U.S. 202 (1965).

68. Village of Arlington Heights v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp., 426 U.S. 229 (1976).

69. O'Shea v. Littleton, 414 U.S. 448 (1974); Rizzo v. Goode, 423 U.S. 362 (1976).

70. United Steelworkers of America v. Weber, 442 U.S. 193 (1979).

71. The Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

72. John Hope Franklin, "From Slavery to Freedom" 272 (4th ed. 1974).

73. Tom Watson, The Negro Question in the South, in Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America 68 (1967).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From all the information that has been gathered and analyzed in the preceding papers, it is clear that there was little or no improvement in the overall status of black Americans in 1983. Unemployment hovered near the 20% level, the beginning of an economic recovery failed to make an impact within the black community, the national government remained indifferent to the needs of minorities and the poor, and social problems continued to fester with little help available for their resolution.

We do not believe that this scenario has to be replayed in 1984 and the big question to be determined is what policies will the nation follow in 1985 and beyond. John E. Jacob, President of the National Urban League, has addressed this matter in the following words:

"If, as expected, the slow economic recovery turns into a real rebound from recession in 1984, the structural dislocations that have thrown millions out of jobs or rendered them unemployable, will remain.

"So the election will have to turn on philosophical differences between the major candidates and their specific plans for the future, and less on the day to day economic statistics.

"A key factor in 1984 will be the growth of poverty in America. The ranks of the poor have swelled by five million over the past three years and the recovery has not touched them.

"Unless the current recovery broadens to become a boom that creates jobs in industries hit hard by the recession, the poverty level will remain high. The 35 million poor need not be poor in this affluent nation. Experts say a transfer of $45 billion would bring the incomes of the poor up to the poverty level. The Pentagon wastes more than that on cost overruns, inflated payment for parts, and inefficiency.

"Poverty could be relieved too, by changes in the tax structure that penalize the poor. The much-ballyhooed tax cuts didn't benefit the poor -- a poor family of four paid almost $1,000 in income and payroll taxes last year -- enough to move many out of poverty.

"Another factor of importance in 1984 is whether the nation will broaden equal opportunity. We've had a lot of hand-wringing about how bad the schools are and how limited minority progress has been. But if we don't start implementing national policies that prepare the poor and minorities for productive jobs the economy will be in even worse shape.

"Over the next decade one fourth of the new entrants to the labor force will be black and minority. The young people now getting inferior educations, on the verge of dropping out of school, and denied the skills training they need to get decent jobs will, in the coming months and years, have to function in a high tech economy.

"Their needs are also the economy's needs for skilled, trained

people. But too many people are still trapped in the mindset that thinks of their needs as a "social problem" and the investments in their human capital as "costs."

"So from these and other standpoints, 1984 could well be decisive. There will be others too, but the main point about the next twelve months is that the open window for decision-making is a narrow one. The deep changes in the economy and the freeze in racial progress are the twin considerations that will determine our futures, so the nation ought to be moving now to adjust to change and to move swiftly to create an open, pluralistic, integrated society."

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. A Universal Employment and Training System should be established that will guarantee the unemployed productive work and the skills training necessary to obtain and hold a job. Such a system would be a joint public-private effort. It would include rebuilding the decaying infrastructure of the nation such as its roads, bridges, rail systems and ports, as well as improving public services. The system would train the unskilled and the unemployed and retrain displaced workers for jobs in growth industries.

2. Congress should immediately implement a jobs creation program(s) whereby employment opportunities are made available to the long-term unemployed, especially in the areas of the highest unemployment.

3. A bi-partisan joint committee of the House and Senate should be created to exercise oversight for all social service and human resources programs to assure that they fulfill the purposes for which they were formulated, that they are administered fairly, and that they are adequately funded. Creation of such a committee is justified by the changing nature of the American economy, the inability of states to meet the needs of their people through limited block grant funds and state resources, and the increased number of displaced, discouraged, homeless and poor persons not being caught in "the safety net" -- all of which bring new dimensions to the plight of the poor and disadvantaged.

4. The nation's welfare system, which varies from state to state, should be federalized through national funding which would assure that financial assistance, including food stamps, would bring families to at least the poverty level. Social service programs such as food stamps, school lunches and others that serve the poor and disadvantaged should be funded at levels adequate to meet the needs.

5. The tax system should be modified so that families earning poverty level incomes no longer lose a significant portion of their meager earnings to income and payroll taxes.

6. There should be increased federal funding for a variety of prevention, vocational and health related initiatives that deal with teenage pregnancy. Community-based organizations, with firm roots in their communities and sensitivity for their needs, should be deeply involved in the

implementation of such initiatives.

7. The Congress, the appropriate federal agencies, and the General Accounting Office should regularly and objectively monitor the implementation of block grants. This is essential to guard against the possibility of misuse and abuse of federally appropriated funds, and to assure that the civil rights of blacks and other minorities are protected.

8. The Department of Justice should withdraw briefs opposing affirmative action in cases now before the courts since its position rests on weak legal and moral grounds and can only hearten those who resist compliance with affirmative action mandates.

9. The budgets of the various civil rights enforcement agencies and offices within the executive branch of government should be restored to levels that will allow effective and adequate enforcement.

10. Congress should amend the Fair Housing Act to provide enforcement power for the first time in its 15 year history, and to extend the act's coverage to include families with children.

11. The principles of affirmative action should continue to be applied at both the state and federal levels, and there should be no retrenchment in their enforcement. This means that qualified minority applicants should be actively sought for job openings in every sector of the economy.

12. Congress should approve a major new investment in math and science education in order to respond to the needs of a high technology society. Such legislation should make the special needs of low-income and minority students a priority.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1983*

CIVIL RIGHTS

Jan. 1: A plan for a voter registration drive designed to tap a new pool of non-voters, found in unemployment and government benefits offices, is advanced by Richard A. Cloward, a professor of social work at Columbia University and Frances F. Piven, professor of political science at the City University of New York. Employees of local welfare and social service agencies would be enlisted to register clients as they wait in line to receive benefits.

Jan. 12: In a two-and-a-half-page statement opposed by U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Chairman Clarence Pendleton, a majority of the commissioners said the Justice Department's position on cases in New Orleans, Boston and Chicago could result in continued discrimination against minorities and women. The statement charged that officials in the department "have been charting the Administration's course for ending judicial approval of affirmative action."

Jan. 28: Asserting that continued use of the initials NAACP, by the Legal Defense and Education Fund causes public confusion over the identities of the fund and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the NAACP asks a federal judge to prevent the fund from using them.

Feb. 23: In a challenge to a new city council system in Lockhart, Tex., alleged to have a discriminatory effect on Mexican Americans, the Supreme Court rules 6 to 3, that such an electoral change is valid by state and local governments even when they perpetuate existing discrimination, as long as it does not worsen the discrimination. The Supreme Court returns the case to the lower court for it to determine how to define discriminatory effect. Justice Thurgood Marshall writes the dissenting opinion asserting that any electoral system that maintains existing discrimination at the expense of minority voting strength, "does not further any conceivable purpose" of the Voting Rights Act.

March 9: An all-white panel of five men and seven women in Dallas hears opening arguments in a case against seven white New Orleans police officers charged with violating the civil rights of blacks in questioning about the shooting death of another white officer, Gregory Neupert in 1980. The officers on trial are accused of beating and terrorizing residents of the predominately black neighborhood of Algiers, where four persons were killed, but charges in those deaths have yet to be filed.

*This chronology is based on news reports. In some instances the event might have occurred a day before the news item appeared.

March 24: After 13 days, the defense rests its case against seven white New Orleans police officers accused of abusing and illegally jailing four witnesses in an investigation of the shooting death of officer Gregory Neupert. All seven defendants deny the felony charge of violating the civil rights of the witnesses.

March 29: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wins its lawsuit against the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, which is ordered to stop using the initials NAACP by a federal district judge. Judge Thomas P. Jackson ruled that the Legal Defense Fund, an offshoot of the NAACP, was infringing upon the association's trademark by continuing to use the initials after it had become a separate and independent agency. The Legal Defense Fund plans to appeal the ruling according to its chairman, William T. Coleman, Jr.

April 19: A series of changes in the enforcement of Executive Order 11246, which prohibits federal contractors from discriminating and requires them to have affirmative action programs, are challenged by the 175-member Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. The civil rights coalition charges that the Reagan Administration's proposals will dismantle the equal employment opportunity requirements for federal contractors and will have a devastating impact on employment opportunities for minorities and women.

April 30: Head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, William Bradford Reynolds, calls racial quotas "morally wrong" and charges that they have created a "racial spoils system" in America. Reynolds stated further that the administration would not use quotas or accept them as remedies to discrimination in a speech before students at Amherst College in Massachusetts.

May 18: Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is suspended indefinitely by the association's chairman, Margaret Bush Wilson. Hooks and Bush are unavailable for comment on the action.

May 26: In a White House news conference, President Reagan's nominees to replace three members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights are introduced. If approved by the Senate, the administration would have a majority of its appointees on the six-member commission. The three nominees are John H. Bunzel, San Jose State University, CA; Morris B. Abram, former president of Brandeis University, MA, and a lawyer; and Robert A. Destro, an assistant law professor at Catholic University in Washington, D.C. The commissioners to be replaced are Mary Frances Berry, Rabbi Murray Saltzman and Blandina Cardenas Ramirez.

May 28: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's executive director, Benjamin L. Hooks is reinstated to his post after an eight-day suspension by board chairman Margaret Bush

Wilson. Wilson states that the objective of the action has been achieved and its continuance no longer serves a useful purpose.

June 10: Three white police officers from New Orleans are sentenced to five years in prison without parole for beating and torturing blacks by Federal District Judge Jerry Buchmeyer in Dallas. John McKenzie, 40, Dale Bonura, 34, and Stephen Farrar, 34, were convicted on March 28 of terrorizing residents of the primarily black Algiers neighborhood, while conducting an investigation into the slaying of a fellow officer, Gregory Neupert, in 1980.

June 15: The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights criticizes the Reagan Administration for failing to appoint more blacks and minorities to high-level positions in the Federal Government. The Commission cited data provided by the White House which showed only 4.1% of President Reagan's appointees as blacks compared to 12% for the Carter Administration, and a decline in the appointment of women from 12.1% in the previous administration to 8% in Reagan's. Commission Chairman Clarence Pendleton, Jr., voted in favor of sending the report to the president but, said that it ignored some "political realities" citing the small number of blacks active in the Republican Party. He said he did not agree with its tone or the assertions made by his colleagues.

June 16: The head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, William Bradford Reynolds, vows that the department will not approve new voting districts in Mississippi that dilute minority voting strength. State Senator Henry Kirksey of Jackson provides data to Reynolds which he says evidences redistricting plans in numerous counties that would dilute black voting power.

July 13: The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights charges that a 13% cut in federal funds for education by the Reagan Administration will seriously debilitate programs for minorities and the handicapped in American schools. According to the Commission, the administration is seeking $2 billion less for education in fiscal 1984, which will result in the elimination of 34 programs. It said additionally, in its 124-page report, that many of the programs to be cut have been successful and asked that Congress reject the administration's budget and restore them.

July 15: Vice President George Bush is loudly booed several times at the NAACP's 74th Annual Convention in a speech defending the civil rights policies of the Reagan Administration. He states that charges of laxity on civil rights issues are "dead wrong" and faults blacks for the perception of the administration as being inaccessible to them.

Aug. 1: Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds announces that the Justice Department will send 300 federal observers to monitor statewide primary elections in Mississippi. Reynolds says that his action is the result of a pre-election survey that

revealed an undetermined number of counties that might foster problems in the enforcement of the Voting Rights Act.

Aug. 3: The House votes 338 to 90 in favor of creating a new national holiday that would honor the memory of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. If passed, the third Monday of every January would be set aside for the holiday, which would be the 10th such in the federal code.

Aug. 6: Senate approval of legislation for a holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is more likely after President Reagan decides to support the measure following recommendations from prominent Republican senators.

Aug. 10: According to reports, some major Jewish organizations and some civil rights leaders oppose the scheduled march commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the March on Washington in 1963, because of its focus on more issues than just that of civil rights.

Aug. 23: National and local civil rights leaders call the Justice Department's decision to send 300 federal observers to monitor runoff elections in Mississippi an inadequate response to violations of the Voting Rights Act. The Rev. Jesse Jackson charges that the observers, volunteers from the Office of Personnel Management, are untrained and not likely to detect voter obstruction and that they are being poorly utilized. The department sent the observers to 11 counties, but civil rights leaders expected more than twice that number to be dispatched.

Aug. 28: Commemorating the 20th anniversary of the historic "March on Washington", and sounding a present day call for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom", 250,000 people converge on the nation's capital. Billed as the "March on Washington II", organizers describe their effort to focus greater attention on domestic issues and on removing President Reagan from office as a "New Coalition of Conscience".

Aug. 31 District of Columbia Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy announces that the coalition for "Jobs, Peace and Freedom", will continue its existence. The group will establish a national headquarters in Washington, D.C. to lobby for the passage of legislation reflecting its goals. The coalition has targeted 14 bills to push for congressional approval including the measure to make Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday and another to develop one million jobs for the hard-core unemployed.

Sept. 25: A federal three-judge panel orders Louisiana to redraw boundaries for two of its congressional districts in the New Orleans area which blacks contended limited the likelihood of a black being elected to the House of Representatives. The court's decision resulted from a 1982 lawsuit by black voters protesting the division of their population between the area's First and Second Districts.

Oct. 4: In an attempt to stall Senate action on the bill to make the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), tries to build a case for sending the bill to committee for hearings by charging King espoused "action-oriented Marxism". Helms' efforts were quickly thwarted by Senate leaders of both parties and Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who filed a cloture petition to stop debate on the bill and bring it to a vote. Helms' attack on the politics of King was scathingly denounced by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), who said Helms should be shunned by Americans including those in his home state.

Oct. 19: Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) loses his bid to win judicial authority for unsealing controversial tapes gathered by the FBI on the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. In a hearing sought by Helms, Judge John Lewis Smith ruled against the move stating it would be an intrusion by the judiciary into the legislative arena, and that Helms' dispute was with his fellow legislators. Meanwhile, the Senate votes 76-12 against sending the King Holiday bill to the Judiciary Committee for hearings as sought by Helms, for a "comprehensive report" on King's stature as a national hero. According to the report, Helms' proposal to send the bill to committee was rejected by a substantial majority of Republicans as well as Democrats.

Oct. 20: In a vote of 78 to 22, the Senate creates the nation's 10th official holiday, in recognition of the civil rights contributions of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., to American society. The Senate action paralleled earlier House passage of the bill, which was then sent to President Reagan to sign. President Reagan now says he will sign the bill although he opposed it earlier.' The holiday commemorating the birth of the slain civil rights leader on Jan. 15, will be on the third Monday in January beginning in 1986.

Oct. 26: President Reagan terminates the appointments of three Democrats on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights after failing to win Senate approval confirming the appointments of three replacements he had sought. Reportedly, Reagan's action left in question the likelihood of Senate Democrats and Republicans working out a compromise bill for expanding the commission from six to eight members.

Nov. 15: President Reagan is prevented from dismissing three members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by U.S. District Court Judge Norma Johnson, who issued a preliminary injunction against the action.

Nov. 22: In a 220-page report, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights charges that the Reagan Administration has been under-funding several key agencies which has had the effect of weakening the federal government's civil rights enforcement efforts. According to the commission, the budgets of many of the agencies

have been "inadequate to alleviate longstanding problems." The report also singled out the civil rights division of the Justice Department saying that its enforcement efforts had been hurt as much by resource constraints as by administration policy.

Dec. 1: President Reagan signs into law, a bill establishing the newly reorganized U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, comprised of four presidential and four congressional appointees. Making the first of his appointments, Reagan reappoints Clarence M. Pendleton, Jr., as chairman of the new commission.

Dec. 9: Civil rights leaders charge that they were "double-crossed" by the Reagan Administration and Republican congressional leaders, on the terms of a compromise on the new U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, who failed to reappoint Mary Louise Smith and Jill Ruckelshaus.

Dec. 13: Tennessee's Labor Commissioner Francis F. Guess, 37, a self-described moderate black Republican, is nominated to fill the last vacancy on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights by Senate Majority Leader, Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.). Guess is a former president of the Nashville Urban League and has administered the state's affirmative action program according to the report.

DESEGREGATION/EDUCATION

Jan. 7: A voluntary school desegregation plan for the Chicago School system is approved by federal district court Judge Milton Shadur. Under the plan's provisions, a school would be considered desegregated when it achieved a racial mix of 30% each, for minority and white students, which the judge said meets the minimum test of constitutionality. The plan will rely on a system of magnet schools, voluntary transfers and the redrawing of some school districts in its rejection of busing as a means of achieving school desegregation. Blacks comprise about 61% of the city's 436,000 student enrollment. The Justice Department supports the plan, and Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds said he hoped Judge Shadur's decision would encourage the courts to adopt similar measures where school boards evidence a commitment to making such plans work.

Jan. 13: The presidents of several black colleges threaten to withdraw their schools' membership in the National Collegiate Athletic Association over its controversial rule requiring freshmen athletes to achieve a combined score of 700 on the Scholastic Aptitude Test for college entrants. The black college presidents contend that the test is culturally biased and characterized the NCAA's adoption of the rule as racist.

Jan. 13: Black and white students at Harvard University stage a boycott of a course on civil rights and race discrimination taught by

two prominent civil rights lawyers to protest the lack of minority faculty at the university's law school. The students allege that the three-week course being taught by Jack Greenberg, director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and LeVonne Chambers, president of the fund, does not respond to student demands for a semester-long course on civil rights and for additional, full-time minority faculty. Harvard has 66 professors on its law school faculty, which includes only two blacks. The only students enrolled in the course are 43 whites who crossed a picket line set up by the protestors to attend class.

Jan. 25: The Justice Department's test case to win support for overturning school desegregation rulings that mandate court-ordered busing is struck down by the Supreme Court. The department sought to overturn such a plan in Nashville, TN., alleging that it had contributed to white flight within the system.

Jan. 28: Agreement is reached on a plan to desegregate Virginia's state colleges and universities by the state, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, at a cost of $16 million over a three-year period. The agreement marks the end of a ten-year effort to bring the state into compliance with the 1966 Civil Rights Act.

Feb. 3: Contending their action is designed to stop white flight from Norfolk's public school system, the city's school board votes 5 to 2 to abandon its desegregation plan that will result in the resegregation of half its elementary schools. Instead, the school board favors a neighborhood enrollment plan in which black students could voluntarily transfer to schools where whites comprise the majority.

Feb. 8: A national study by the Educational Commission of the States finds that federally-funded compensatory education programs and those emphasizing basic reading skills were responsible for reading gains among students, most particularly among black students. According to the study, black students with poor academic records made the largest gains in reading and mathematical skills.

Feb. 23: An agreement is reached between the city of St. Louis and 22 school districts in St. Louis county, for a voluntary and comprehensive busing program. Only one county objected to the plan which provides for the busing of 15,000 black students to suburban schools in the county. Although the city has had a mandatory busing plan since 1980, the schools have remained predominately black because blacks make up 80% of the student enrollment.

March 12: The federal government is given a timetable of one-year to investigate and take action in cases involving schools that have

violated civil rights laws pertaining to discrimination against blacks, Hispanics, women and the handicapped. In setting the one-year limit, U.S. District Court Judge John H. Pratt rejects arguments by U.S. Education Secretary Terrel H. Bell that the timetables should be eliminated because they are too difficult to meet.

April 7: The Justice Department disagrees with Norfolk's school board, which attempts to win federal court approval for a plan to abandon its court-ordered busing program, for a voluntary neighborhood enrollment plan, that it says will stem white flight.

April 26: Black and other minority teachers are failing competency tests at a significant rate throughout the country, particularly in the South according to reports. Students taking state licensing tests are passing at an average rate of only 37% in the South. Those criticizing the tests say blacks fare poorly because many are graduates of southern colleges that for generations have had limited educational resources and tools and because of the cultural biases of the tests.

May 25: The Supreme Court rules that private schools that discriminate on the basis of race are not eligible for tax exemptions in an 8 to 1 decision. The high court rejects the Reagan Administration's claim that because there is no language in the revenue service code banning such exemptions, they are permissable. The opinion rendered by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, stated "that racial discrimination in education violates deeply and widely accepted views of elementary justice," and "that to grant tax exempt status to racially discriminatory educational entities would be incompatible with the concepts of tax exemption."

June 8: Senator Frank R. Lautenberg (D-N.J.) warns that the computer industry may create a new class of poor people in the nation, helping to sharpen divisions in American society. Sen. Lautenberg asserted that computers were being acquired and used in more wealthy districts than in poor ones, with the result being illiteracy in the new technology for the latter. According to Sen. Lautenberg, on the average, poor school districts possessed 25% fewer computers than wealthy districts. He added that while 70% of the schools in wealthy districts have micro-computers, 60% of those in the poor districts do not.

July 7: The U.S. Department of Education notifies the governors or top education officials in Georgia, Oklahoma, North Carolina, Florida and Arkansas that desegregation plans submitted for their public colleges and universities are unacceptable. The officials are instructed to submit new plans by Aug. 15 or face legal action by the government.

July 11: In a statement asserting that its support of seniority is strong but not absolute, the 1.7 million member National Education As-

sociation said it would support special instances in which white teachers with more seniority might have to be dismissed to retain minority teachers and preserve affirmative action gains.

July 12: The Justice Department files a civil suit against the state of Alabama charging that it has "maintained and perpetuated a dual system of public higher education based on race." Detailing its charge, the department contends that qualified black applicants have been rejected for admission to white schools because of their race; blacks have been excluded from the faculty, staff and governing boards of state schools and black students receive fewer educational opportunities.

Aug. 1: U.S. District Court Judge Milton Shadur orders the Reagan Administration to provide at least $14.6 million in federal assistance to the Chicago Public School System for its desegregation plan. Judge Shadur accuses the Administration of trying to abdicate its responsibility in meeting the terms of a 1980 consent decree worked out by the city's Board of Education and the Justice Department towards the end of the Carter Administration.

Aug. 25: The first day of a voluntary desegregation plan for schools in St. Louis begins with the busing of black pupils to school in the suburbs. Under a plan worked out by Federal District Judge William L. Hungate, the students will attend school in 16 of the suburban districts found to be below the 15%-to-25% enrollment rate for blacks within the system.

Aug. 31: According to research conducted by University of North Carolina psychologist Lyle Jones, blacks have narrowed the gap between themselves and white students on standardized school tests in reading, writing math and other subjects. Jones asserted that the evidence is clear that present day black students are significantly closer to their white counterparts in basic skills than their previous generations, and predicted that the gap would continue to narrow in the future.

Sept. 15: The Carnegie Foundation issues a series of recommendations for improving the performance of the nation's secondary education system based on its report "High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America". According to the foundation, such an effort should begin with tighter school curriculums and increased pay and improved working conditions for teachers.

Sept. 27: On "National Historically Black Colleges Day", President Reagan signs a bill authorizing $5 million in federal education assistance to black colleges and other developing institutions for fiscal 1984. The funding authorization would increase federal spending in this area from its current level of $129.6 million to $134.4 million in fiscal 1984.

Oct. 21: The Justice Department joins in the state of Missouri's appeal of

a ruling by U.S. District Court Judge William L. Hungate, requiring the state to pay the majority of the cost for desegregating the city's school system. In its brief filed with the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, the department asserts that Judge Hungate failed to establish a factual record to justify his order.

Nov. 21: The Civil Rights Leadership Conference Fund issues a report that accuses the Reagan Administration of systematically weakening enforcement mechanisms and narrowing the application of civil rights law in education. The fund is an arm of the 160-group coalition comprising the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. The report also charges the administration with having adopted more modest compliance regulations than previous administrations and with sharply reducing funds for civil rights agencies. The 47-page report targeted the civil rights division of the Justice Department and the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Education, for most of its criticism.

Nov. 24: The president of Fisk University, Walter J. Leonard, resigns saying his continued administration would deter several persons of "influence and wealth who are prepared to invest either or both in Fisk." According to Dr. Leonard, the school has a debt of $2.8 million and a cash flow problem that dims prospects for paying it off in the near future.

Dec. 3: A proposed $16 billion budget, which would enable new school initiatives, is rejected for the U.S. Department of Education and President Reagan says his administration will not increase spending to provide financial assistance for college students in 1985. Education Secretary T. H. Bell's proposed budget initially exceeded even the $15.2 billion approved by Congress in 1984, but was scaled down to $13 billion, a projection to which President Reagan has ordered the department to adhere.

POLITICS

Jan. 17: George C. Wallace takes the oath of office for an unprecedented fourth term as governor of Alabama calling for "mercy and justice" for all, a turnabout for the man who at his first inauguration as governor began his administration proclaiming "segregation forever." In what some political analysts are characterizing as evidence of a "new" George Wallace, are the appointments of two blacks to key cabinet posts--one heading the state welfare department and the other overseeing revenue collections. The governor has also reportedly used his influence to have four black legislators appointed as committee chairmen. Wallace has the distinction of appointing more blacks to such high-level posts than any previous governor according to the report.

Feb. 5: Presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale meets with members of

the Democratic National Committee's Black Caucus to explain why he is not supporting the candidacy of Rep. Harold Washington, a black, in Chicago's Democratic primary for mayor. Mondale maintained that his decision to support cook county state's attorney Richard M. Daley was not a "political calculation" but, a matter of his having given his word previously to endorse and campaign for Daley before he knew who the other candidates were.

Feb. 24: Rep. Harold Washington (D-Ill.) wins a three-way race as the Democratic nominee for mayor of the city of Chicago. Washington won 36% of the vote, in an election where 1.2 million residents went to the polls, reportedly the city's largest turnout in 25 years. According to the report, Washington's margin of victory was 32,000 votes, and was attributed to his forceful performance in four mayoral debates, a strong black voter registration drive and an appeal to blacks, Hispanics and whites disenchanted with the Democratic political machine in Chicago. Washington is expected to easily win the April 19 general election defeating Bernard E. Epton the Republican candidate. If Washington wins, he will become the first black mayor of Chicago.

March 5: Rep. Harold Washington, the black Democratic nominee for mayor in Chicago, finally returns a phone call to party presidential aspirant, Walter Mondale, who supported an opponent of Washington's in the primary. Washington made the call to ask Mondale to come to Chicago and campaign for him against the Republican candidate, Bernard E. Epton. It followed several days and calls by Mondale to offer Washington his congratulations and assistance.

March 13: A report prepared by the Joint Center for Political Studies presents a strategy by which a black presidential candidate could garner enough delegates to win a key role in the selection of the party's nominee at the 1984 Democratic National Convention. The report said this could be achieved by running a black candidate in several Democratic primaries which would increase black voting strength and by the development of new delegate selection rules. The report contends that the black vote will be pivotal in the general election in 15 to 19 swing states.

April 4: Rep. Harold Washington, on a campaign stop at the St. Nicholas Albanian Orthodox Church, has to be escorted from the area by police because of an angry mob of whites protesting the black Democratic nominee's bid for mayor of Chicago. The leader of the group identified herself as a precinct chairman for State Senator Bernard E. Epton, the white Republican candidate.

April 11: John Charles Thomas, 32, is appointed to the Virginia State Supreme Court by Gov. Charles S. Robb, the first black to be named to the seven-member court in the state's history. Thomas, with expertise in civil and commercial law, was also the state's first black to be made a partner of a major law firm, Hunton and Williams.

April 13: Rep. Harold Washington, the Democratic nominee for Chicago mayor wins the election and becomes the first black to hold that office in the city's history. Washington received 656,727 votes (51%) to his opponent, Bernard Epton's 617,159 (48%). According to the report, the voting followed racial lines with Washington claiming more than 90% of the votes in black areas, which now comprise 40% of the electorate and the city's population. Washington also reportedly won 44% of the vote in the city's "liberal" lake front areas.

April 26: According to Charles T. Manatt, Chairman of the Democratic Party, it is unlikely that a black or a woman will be nominated as a vice presidential candidate in the 1984 race. Manatt said that selection of the vice presidential candidate would be governed by the party's traditional concern for balancing the ticket along regional lines.

May 18: W. Wilson Goode wins Philadelphia's Democratic Primary election for mayor with 53% of the vote in what is called a "record" turnout, defeating former Mayor and Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo. Goode garnered 312,219 votes to Rizzo's 270,115 votes (53.2% and 46.8%of the vote, respectively). According to a survey by WCAU-TV in Philadelphia, Goode received 97% of the black vote and at least 20% of the white. In comparison, Rizzo received only 3% of the black vote although blacks make up 44% of the city's 887,816 registered Democrats. Goode said that this election proved that "race need not be an issue."

May 24: The Rev. Jesse L. Jackson addresses a joint session of the Alabama Legislature, the first black to do so since Reconstruction. Jackson says the invitation to speak before the legislature is a sign of "reconciliation and healing". Jackson was in Montgomery as part of a voter registration campaign in the South for two million more black voters by 1984.

June 7: A group of prominent black Republicans warn the Reagan Administration that a "vengeance vote" by blacks deeply dissastisfied with its economic and social policies could give a substantial advantage to the Democrats in the 1984 presidential election. According to the report, that point was strongly made by the blacks in a May 31 White House meeting with political strategists, who indicated only strong signals in personnel and policy changes can help to salvage the President's credibility in the black community. Among the delegation were: Melvin L. Bradley, a special assistant to the President for policy; Clarence McKee, lawyer and a former Reagan nominee to the Legal Services Commission; J. Clay Smith, Howard University Law Professor and former acting chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Legree Daniels, Chairman of the National Black Republican Council.

June 21: The concept of a black Democratic presidential nominee is endorsed by a group of black political and civil rights leaders.

The group decides against endorsing a specific candidate, but plans to organize a "black coalition for 1984" to increase black voter registration and to inject a "people's platform" of minority concerns into the Democratic campaign. One participant in the meeting, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson said the group's decision made it "highly likely" that a black would enter the Democratic presidential race. Jackson has reportedly been considering such a move.

June 22: According to the results of a Washington Post-ABC News Poll, a black Democratic presidential candidacy could take a substantial number of black votes away from the party's front-runner. In a nation-wide survey of 634 Democrats, Jesse Jackson finished third with the approval of 8% of those polled on a list of Democratic candidates. Walter F. Mondale received 42% and Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) 26%.

July 14: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls the concept of a black presidential candidate a "hoax" and says that blacks should support an electable candidate. Executive Director Benjamin L. Hooks warns that supporting a black candidate may result in the Democratic Party's selection of the most conservative of the announced candidates, because of the lack of black participation in the platform and in the selection process.

July 28: Gary, Ind. Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, chairman of a committee exploring the potential for a black presidential candidacy, advances that idea at the annual PUSH convention in Atlanta. Hatcher's action is reportedly seen as encouragement to the organization's leader, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, to run for the presidency.

Aug. 27: A resolution is drafted at the convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference urging its president, the Rev. Joseph Lowery to seek the nomination for the 1984 Democratic Presidential candidacy. Lowery said he was surprised by the resolution developed by an 18-member ad hoc committee of local SCLC chapter members.

Aug. 31: Jay Parker, president of the Lincoln Institute (a Wash., D.C. think tank), Henry Miller, a Los Angeles builder and Mabel King, the actress, announce the formation of "Blacks for Reagan". The group has been provided $200,000 by the National Conservative Action Committee to wage an information campaign in the black community to help reelect President Reagan in 1984.

Sept. 8: Chicago real estate broker Lawrence N. Oberman, 38, is arrested and charged with trying to arrange the murder of Mayor Harold Washington. Oberman was arrested after hiring an undercover informer to commit the murder for $1 million according to law enforcement officials. A Cook County grand jury indicted him on two counts of solicitation.

Sept. 29: After a two-and-a-half hour meeting with members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson reportedly receives indication of support for his presidential candidacy bid from a "slim" majority of the lawmakers. According to Mervyn M. Dymally (D-Calif.) "I think it is safe to say that Jesse Jackson will be the black candidate."

Oct. 12: Melvin H. King, becomes the first black in Boston's 350 year history, to win a position in a mayoral run off. The former state representative credited his success to support from a "rainbow coalition" of black, white and Hispanic voters, which gave him 32,595 votes or 34%. His opponent, Raymond L. Flynn, a city council member, won 24,441 or 25%. The victor will be chosen in the November general election.

Oct. 13: Birmingham, AL. Mayor Richard Arrington is reelected with 60% of the vote delivered by a strong bi-racial coalition according to this report. In spite of poor weather, voters turned out in impressive numbers. In black neighborhoods, the turnout was 77%, while the city-wide turnout was 70%. In the city, blacks are 51% of the registered voters, while whites comprise 49%. In this election, Arrington also captured more of the white vote, 20%, as compared to the 10% he garnered four years ago.

Oct. 20: According to the results of an ABC Television News poll, almost half the black Democrats surveyed said they would support Jesse L. Jackson if he runs for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination. The poll was conducted from Oct. 10 to Oct. 15 and interviewed 1,002 blacks nation-wide. Mondale came in second among this group with 39%, which could jump to 70% because of the three-out-of-five black voters that would shift to Mondale if Jackson decided not to run, according to the poll.

Nov. 4: Declaring that "this is not a black campaign," the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson announces his candidacy for the 1984 Democratic Presidential nomination in Washington, D.C. More than 2,000 officials, and black and Hispanic supporters, heard Jackson introduce his campaign targeted "to serve the nation at a level where I can help restore a moral tone, a redemptive spirit and a sensitivity to the poor and the dispossessed of this nation." During his three-hour address, Jackson criticized President Reagan's Administration as "anti-black, anti-Hispanic, anti--civil rights, anti-human rights and anti-poor."

Nov. 10: In general elections throughtout the nation, blacks make significant inroads into the American political system. W. Wilson Goode becomes the first black elected mayor of Philadelphia, making his city the fourth of the nation's six largest cities to be administered by a black mayor, all of whom are Democrats. Harvey Gantt becomes the first black elected mayor of Charlotte, N.C.; James A. Sharp, Jr. becomes the first elected black mayor of Flint, Mich.; Thirman Milner wins a second term in Hartford, Conn. and Mayor Richard Hatcher wins a fifth term in Gary,

Ind. Melvin King loses his bid to become Boston's first black mayor in a runoff election. Both candidates campaigned on a platform of racial harmony and neighborhood revitalization, but King's background of "left-wing activism" and careless statements during the campaign cost him the election, according to the report.

Nov. 10: Democratic presidential candidate Jesse L. Jackson announces that he will seek a meeting with party chairman Charles T. Manatt to discuss his objections to rules which he says "lock out" the poor, minorities and women from the nominating process. Jackson said he will formulate a strategy for challenging the delegate selection rules developed by the Hunt Commission in 1981.

Dec. 11: The Alabama Democratic Conference endorses Walter F. Mondale for the 1984 Democratic Presidential Nomination and recommends the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson for vice president. The conference is the state Democratic party's black offshoot. After a heated debate among convention delegates the endorsement was voted 116 to 38, according to the report.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Jan. 8: The Justice Department asks the U.S. Court of Appeals to throw out a court-approved plan allowing the city of New Orleans to promote black and white police officers in equal numbers. The city agreed to the plan in an out-of-court settlement of a ten-year-old discrimination suit brought by 13 black officers against the police department.

Jan. 22: The Chicago suburb of Cicero, Ill. is sued by the Justice Department which charges that the town has taken deliberate action to prevent blacks from living there or obtaining municipal jobs. According to the suit, efforts to keep blacks out of the mostly white working-class suburb have included physical and verbal harassment as well as the establishment of a one-year residency requirement to prevent blacks from being hired for municipal employment.

Feb. 14: Ronnie Stackhouse files a suit in Federal District Court in Chicago against the town and police of Cicero, Ill. alleging violation of his civil rights. According to Stackhouse, who is black, police arrested and detained him wrongfully while he was reporting the firebombing of his car, which was subsequently vandalized in the town hall parking lot.

March 5: Business, minority and womens' groups are opposed to proposed new regulations from the Labor Department which they say would dismantle the affirmative action programs of private contractors. Critics contend that the instructions, to be issued by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, alter existing policy

by setting limits on the annual percentage of minorities hired by the contractors and by banning the use of long-range hiring goals in formal affirmative action plans.

March 30: The United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit rules that a voluntary affirmative action plan designed to increase blacks within the Detroit Police Department is legal. The court's action sanctioned the plan which will enable the promotion of blacks to half the department's lieutenant and other supervisory positions.

April 7: The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission decides against filing a "friend of the court" brief supporting black officers in a New Orleans Police Department discrimination case after pressure from the White House and the Justice Department. The Justice Department files its own brief charging that the system is too broad and therefore unconstitutional.

April 10: Citing his concern over "executive branch pressure", House Judiciary subcommittee chairman Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif.) urges the EEOC to reevaluate its decision not to enter a discrimination case involving the New Orleans Police Department.

April 28: Lawyers at two private law foundations attach the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's friend-of-the-court brief to their own, submitting it as recommended reading for the judges of the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, considering the controversial New Orleans Police Department employment discrimination case. The Justice Department sides with whites, Hispanic and female officers who charge the department's plan to meet a 50% quota in the hiring and promotion of black officers is unconstitutional.

April 19: U.S. Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole proposes new regulations requiring 10% of the funding received by states for mass transit assistance to be awarded to minority business concerns or forfeited by the states.

May 3: Alleging reverse discrimination, the Justice Department files a brief with the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit requesting that it reconsider a decision by one of its panels to uphold a minority promotion plan developed by the Detroit Police Department. The Justice Department contends that the plan to promote one black officer for every white officer promoted to the rank of lieutenant, until blacks comprise 50% of the force's lieutenants, infringes on the rights of "innocent non-blacks."

May 16: A suit alleging discrimination against black professional and managerial employees of the International Business Machines Corporation is filed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Baltimore.

June 2: Clarence Thomas, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, cites a growing perception among employers that because of the Reagan Administration's position on civil rights and affirmative action, they will no longer be penalized for failing to comply with job bias laws. In some cases, employers believe that such laws are no longer applicable, and that idea has hindered the settlement of close cases, Thomas stated.

June 13: Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, announces plans to travel to Jackson, MS on a fact-finding mission to investigate complaints of violations of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He will meet with the Rev. Jesse Jackson and other black leaders.

July 22: A plan for increasing the employment of minorities and women within the Justice Department is filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission without numerical goals and 19 months late.

August 20: Challenging lower court rulings, the Justice Department asks the Supreme Court to overturn a court order prohibiting the city of Memphis including newly hired minorities in a seniority-based lay-off plan for city firefighters. The Justice Department contends that the minority fire fighters are beneficiaries of affirmative action and not victims of discrimination.

August 26: Howard Jenkins, Jr., the first and only black to serve on the National Labor Relations Board, resigns his post after 20 years. Jenkins states that he would like to continue serving on the board, but, signals from the White House indicate to him that he will not be reappointed.

Sept. 7: Clarence Thomas, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, rejects the Justice Department's plan for hiring and promoting more minorities, women and the handicapped for a second time.

Oct. 19: In what is reportedly the largest agreement of its kind, the General Motors Corporation agrees to a five-year, $42.5 million affirmative action program to establish goals for the hiring and promotion of minorities and women.

Oct. 28: Clarence Thomas, Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission asserts before a House Education and Labor subcommittee that the executive branch has not interfered with the agency's enforcement of job discrimination laws. Thomas said further, that while the Administration and the EEOC have argued on some points in particular cases, he has never been ordered to take any specific action on a case.

Dec. 5: Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, scores the Reagan Administration's Justice Department for filing a court brief requesting the Supreme Court to dismiss the city's affirmative action plan for

its Police Department.

Dec. 7: The Supreme Court hears Justice Department arguments against dismissing an appeal by the city of Memphis and its predominately white fire fighters union challenging a federal judge's ruling ordering officials to ease seniority rules to protect the jobs of minorities during budgetary layoffs.

RACE RELATIONS

Jan. 2: A federally-funded report on racial, ethnic and religious violence in California charges public officials with responses of indifference, abuse, or confusion in dealing with the problem, which has led to a sense of betrayal among minorities. A state committee investigating the rise in racial violence says the report documents increased activity by "right -- wing groups" and Klan groups that have attained a veneer of respectability "by trading in their sheets for three piece suits."

Jan. 30: Blacks in the Overtown area of Miami conduct a protest march calling for the ouster of the city's police chief and the indictment of an Hispanic officer, who allegedly shot a black youth, and whose death touched off two days of riots. At issue is police conduct in dealing with the city's 17% black minority. The mayor appoints a blue-ribbon commission to study the cause of the disturbances.

Feb. 7: A case being heard in the United States Court for the Middle District of Alabama, has revealed a practice used by companies seeking to build industrial plants in the South, in which they reject areas where the minority population is 33% or more, according to industrial developers. A civil suit has been filed by a black family business concern, Terry Properties, against Amoco Fabrics (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana). It charges the city of Roanoke, Ala. with negotiating secretly with Amoco and denying blacks a voice in determining whether the plant should be built and its location.

Feb. 13: A $7 million civil suit charging police misconduct and use of excessive force is retried in Federal District Court following a mistrial. The suit involves the case of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, who were shot to death by police in Richmond, Calif. in separate incidents.

Feb. 18: A Dade County Grand Jury indicts Miami police officer Luiz Alvarez for manslaughter in the shooting of Nevell Johnson, Jr., which started two days of rioting in the city's Overtown section. While local black leaders hail the indictment as "justice", a spokesman for the Fraternal Order of Police says the indictment is politically motivated.

Feb. 19: Ku Klux Klan marchers are heckled and hit with rocks, resulting in the arrests of nine persons and the injury of 12, in a march

around the state capitol in Austin, Tex. The injuries were minor and the arrests ranged from assault to inciting to riot according to police officials. The robed Klansmen were staging a counter-march to an anti-Klan demonstration held four hours earlier by about 1,000 people.

March 13: The issue of police conduct and racial violence is the focus of an investigation into the arrest of 11 black, out-of-town mourners after a confrontation with police in Montgomery, Ala. The blacks assert two white officers stormed into a relative's home during a wake without identifying themselves, and in plain clothes, to question one of the visitors. The ensuing disturbance resulted in injury to the officers. After ten days in jail on charges of trying to kill the officers, 11 members of the family are released on bail raised by 23 Montgomery residents and a white millionaire, Morris Dees, a lawyer and head of the Southern Poverty Law Center.

April 21: The Chancellor of the University of Mississippi, Porter L. Fortune, Jr., bans the use of the Confederate flag as an official school symbol. His action follows controversy sparked by the school's first black cheerleader who calls a news conference to announce that he will not wave the flag, a custom established by the cheerleaders.

April 22: A federal grand jury, after 29 months of investigation, indicts six Ku Klux Klansmen and three American Nazi Party members in the deaths of five members of the Communist Workers Party participating in a "Death-to-the-Klan" rally in Greensboro, N.C. back in 1979.

May 17: Two white police officers in Eufaula, AL. are cleared by a grand jury in the fatal shooting deaths of two blacks. The jury of twelve whites and six blacks, says it found evidence that one of the blacks, Hampton Russaw, fired at one of the officers first. The shootings occurred after Hampton and Anthony Russaw, brothers, were stopped for a traffic violation.

May 23: Four separate cases, in which Miami area police officers have been charged with manslaughter, are illuminating the extent, which police use excessive force in dealing with the black community. In each case, the black victims have been unarmed or not using a weapon in their possession.

June 3: White supremacist J.B. Stoner surrenders to authorities, to begin serving a ten-year prison sentence, for the bombing of Bethel Baptist Church back in 1958 in Montgomery, Ala., in which five young girls were killed. Stoner, 57, fled at the time he was to begin serving his prison sentence for planting the bomb, remaining a fugitive for five months.

June 5: The families of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory are awarded $1.5 million each by a federal jury at the conclusion of a four-

month civil rights trial brought against the police of Richmond, Calif. in Federal District Court in San Francisco. The police are found guilty of violating the civil rights of the two men who were shot to death by Righmond officers in separate incidents.

July 6: Louisiana's Governor David C. Treen signs legislation repealing a state law that designates as white, anyone having "one--thirty-second" or less of "Negro" blood. In place of that law, less stringnent legislation has been passed allowing an individual to change his or her racial designation on a birth certificate by presenting "a preponderance of evidence" as opposed to evidence leaving "no room for doubt," as to the inaccuracy of the record.

July 12: White and black co-workers cite racism as the reason for the arrest of two black engineers in Greenville, Tex. on robbery charges in the absence of physical evidence linking them to the crime. Lenell Geter and Anthony Williams have no past criminal records and deny any guilt. However, an all-white jury of 10 women and two men convict Geter on the basis of questionable witness identification and sentence him to life imprisonment.

Aug. 23: The National Anti-Klan Network begins a 24-hour vigil outside the Justice Department in an effort to gain faster prosecution of 1,100 cases of network-documented Klan violence. Lyn Wells, network director, says that the Reagan Administration has handled only 29 cases, leaving others for the states to resolve. She contends they have not actively pursued indictments. The organization submits a 15,000-signature petition to the Justice Department's Criminal Civil Rights Division calling for an end to delays in prosecuting such cases.

Aug. 30: Air Force Lt. Col. Guion Steward Bluford II, becomes the first black American astronaut in space as a crew member of the Challenger spacecraft.

Sept. 7: Ross Clayton Green, 20, of Hollywood, S.C., is retried on charges of murder in the death of a Charleston County policeman and assault and battery with intent to kill another officer. According to the report, there is an undercurrent of racial tension in Charleston, S.C., where the case is being tried, while pickets march outside the courtroom. The case first ended in a mistrial when black jurors could not agree with the white majority on the defendant's guilt. The prosecutor, Charles M. Condon, sought the death penalty in the first case. The defense has tried to prove that Officer Steven B. Hiott was accidentally shot and killed by his partner, Officer Michael A. O'Connell, during a struggle with Green. The retrial jury consists of nine whites and three blacks.

Sept. 10: Ross Clayton Green is convicted on voluntary manslaughter on charges relating to the death of Patrolman Steven B. Hiott and

the wounding of Patrolman Michael A. O'Connell. Sentencing is set for Oct. 17, at which time Green faces a sentence of up to 40 years in prison.

Sept. 17: In Miami, an all-white jury finds Metro-Dade County police officer Robert Koenig guilty of manslaughter in the shooting death of a black, Donald Harp, 22, following a car chase with police. Koenig could be sentenced to a maximum of 15 years in prison. Officer Koenig testifies that he shot Harp in the belief that the victim was reaching for a gun to kill him. However, an assistant medical examiner for Dade County, Valerie Rao, testifies for the prosecution that Harp had been almost unconscious from intoxication when pulled from the car after the chase.

Sept. 18: Vanessa Williams is chosen as the first black woman to serve as Miss America in the pageant's 62-year history in Atlantic City, N.J. Williams, representing New York State, cried when chosen the 57th winner of the 1984 pageant before a crowd of 25,000. As winner of the title, Williams will receive a $25,000 scholarship and may earn more than $100,000 in personal appearances during her reign. The pageant's first runner-up is also a black woman, Suzette Charles, Miss New Jersey.

Nov. 27: A mistrial is declared in the case of Morris Taylor, one of 11 family members arrested on charges ranging from attempted murder to assault in Montgomery, Ala. After 20 hours of deliberation, the jurors say they are unable to reach a verdict after the 13-day trial. Taylor's case is the first of five involving the mourners from Michigan and Ohio who traveled to Montgomery for the funeral of the family matriarch, Annie Bell Taylor. Six other relatives arrested have not been formally charged. The cases stem from an incident in which two plain-clothes police officers stormed into a family home where a wake was being held. During the confrontation, Officer Leslie Brown was shot and Officer Edward Spivey was cut and beaten. Neither Brown nor Spivey identified themselves as police officers to the family.

Dec. 14: Lenell Geter, the 26-year-old black engineer serving a life sentence on a robbery conviction, is granted a new trial by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals and released on $10,000 bond posted by a co-worker. His conviction has raised the issue of racial bias because no gun, clothing, fingerprints or other physical evidence have been found to link him to the $615 robbery of a fried chicken restaurant. In addition, nine co-workers have testified that he was at work during the time of the robbery 50 miles away.

APPENDICES

EXCERPTS FROM

'AMERICA'S BLACK POPULATION: 1970 TO 1982 - A STATISTICAL VIEW'

Published by U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census*

INTRODUCTION

Statistics from the latest Bureau Current Population Surveys (CPS) and the 1980 census show improvement in income levels of black married-couple families, educational attainment and school enrollment, and home ownership among blacks during the 1970's. But the data also reveal setbacks influenced by high black unemployment, sharply increased divorce and separation rates, and a rise in family households maintained by black females.

A recessionary economy coupled with inflation eroded both black and white family income during the 1970 decade and together, they were major factors contributing to an increase in poverty among blacks, especially women.

The disproportionate impact on blacks of the economic downturn beginning in 1974 and of the relatively sluggish economy continuing through 1982, effectively brought to a halt the momentum of overall social and economic improvement apparent at the beginning of the decade.

POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

Between 1970 and 1980, the black population increased by 17.3%, from 22.6 million to 26.5 million. In 1980, blacks represented approximately 12% of the total population.

In 1980, blacks constituted more than 20% of the population in seven States - Mississippi (35%), South Carolina (30%), Louisiana (29%), Georgia (27%), Alabama (26%), Maryland (23%), and North Carolina (22%). Twelve States had black populations of 1 million or more, an increase of three more States (Michigan, Ohio, and Virginia) from 1970.

New York had the largest black population of any city (1,784,337) in 1980, followed by Chicago (1,197,000), Detroit (758,939), Philadelphia (638,878), and Los Angeles (505,210).

Of the 100 cities with the largest black population, the city with the highest percentage was East St. Louis, Ill. (96%). In Washington, D.C. about 70% of the population was black in 1980, about the same as in 1970, although the total population in the city actually dropped during the decade.

* Planning, direction and preparation for this special publication were provided by William C. Matney, Public Information Office, and Dwight L. Johnson, Population Division.

The traditional large black migration from the South to points North and West appeared to end in the 1970 decade. Between 1975 and 1980, about 415,000 blacks moved to the South, whereas, only about 220,000 left, thereby reversing the longstanding black exodus from the South. In 1980, the proportion of the total black population residing in the South was 53%, the same as in 1970.

RESIDENCE

In 1980, about 60% of the black population lived in central cities, an increase of 13% during the 1970's, but a sharp drop from the 32% increase recorded during the 1960's. In 1980, although a majority of blacks still resided in central cities, the black population outside central cities grew by 43% during the 1970's. Even with this large percentage increase, by 1980 blacks comprised only 6% of the total population outside central cities.

SOME INCOME GAIN

While income for all black families continued to lag behind that of the general population, black married-couple families registered a 6.9% gain in real median income between 1971 and 1981, improving from $18,370 to $19,620 in constant dollars. The comparable figures for white married-couple families were $25,130 in 1971 and $25,470 in 1981.

While the income levels for black married-couple families was climbing during the decade of the 1970's, this group experienced a decline in the proportion they constituted of all black families, dropping from 64% in 1972 to 55% in 1982.

In real terms, the 1981 median income for all black families ($13,270) dropped 8.3% from 1971 and dropped 5.2% between 1980 and 1981. Median income for white families in 1981 was $23,520, down only 2.7% from 1980 when adjusted for inflation.

In 1971, the median income for black families was 60% of the median income of white families -- $14,460 versus $23,970. By 1981, this ratio was 56%.

According to survey data, the decline in black family median income reflects, in part, the increase in the proportion of families maintained by females with no husband present and the lack of income gains for these families. Among blacks such families totaled 2.6 million in 1982 or about 41% of all black families, up from the 32% in 1972. The median income for families maintained by black female householders with no husband present was $7,510 in 1981, about 38% of the median of black married-couple families ($19,620).

POVERTY RATE INCREASES

Persistent inflation, a stagnant economy, and family dissolution were reflected in the rising number of persons classified as poor between 1979 and 1981. During this period, the total number of persons in poverty increased by 5.4 million.

In 1970, about eight million blacks (34%) and 17 million whites (10%) had incomes below the poverty level. By 1981, the number increased to nine million for blacks (34%) and 22 million for whites (11%). (The poverty level for 1981 was $9,287 for a family of four).

During the 1970's an increasing concentration of the poor in families maintained by females was especially evident among blacks. The number of poor black families with a female householder rose from 834,000 in 1970 to 1.4 million in 1981. These families accounted for 70% of all poor black families in 1981, substantially up from 56% in 1970.

LABOR FORCE

About 11 million black persons were in the civilian labor force in 1982, an increase of 2.7 million over 1972 -- a 31% increase. Also between 1972 and 1982, the number of employed black persons grew by 1.4 million (19%), whereas, the number of unemployed black persons increased by 1.3 million (140%) (900,000 in 1972 to 2.1 million in 1982).

In 1982, the labor force participation rate for black men and women 16 years and over was 70 and 54%, respectively. Black men in the labor force slightly outnumbered black women (5.8 million to 5.5 million).

The unemployment rate for blacks in 1972 was twice that for whites (10.3% versus 5.0%). By 1982, when the unemployment rate for both blacks and whites was the highest since anytime in post-World War II history, the black unemployment rate was still double that of whites - 18.9% compared to 8.6%. Among black teenagers, the unemployment rate reached 48% in 1982, 28 percentage points higher than that of white teenagers (20.4%). The rate was higher for black male teens (48.9%) than for females (47.1%).

FEMALE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDERS

Families maintained by black women increased during the decade. In 1970, about 28% of the 4.9 million black families were maintained by women. By 1982, however, almost 41% of the 6.4 million black families were maintained by a woman. The comparable percentages for whites during this period increased from only 9% to 12%. In 1982, the majority of black families were still maintained by married-couples. However, since 1970, the percentage of all black families maintained by married couples has declined from 68 to 55%.

Among black women in 1982 who maintained families, 32% had never married, compared to 11% for white families maintained by a woman.

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN

As a consequence of the above changes, the number of black children living with both parents dropped sharply between 1970 and 1982 while the percentage of black children living in one-parent situations increased from 32 to 49%. About 8% of the children lived with neither parent in 1982, but in most cases resided with another relative. White children living with one parent also increased, doubling from 9% in 1970 to 17% in 1982. Still, 81% of white children lived with both parents in 1982, compared with 42% of black children.

Black children constituted just 15% of all children under 18 years of age in 1982, but represented 34% of all children living with only one parent.

INCREASED DIVORCE RATIO

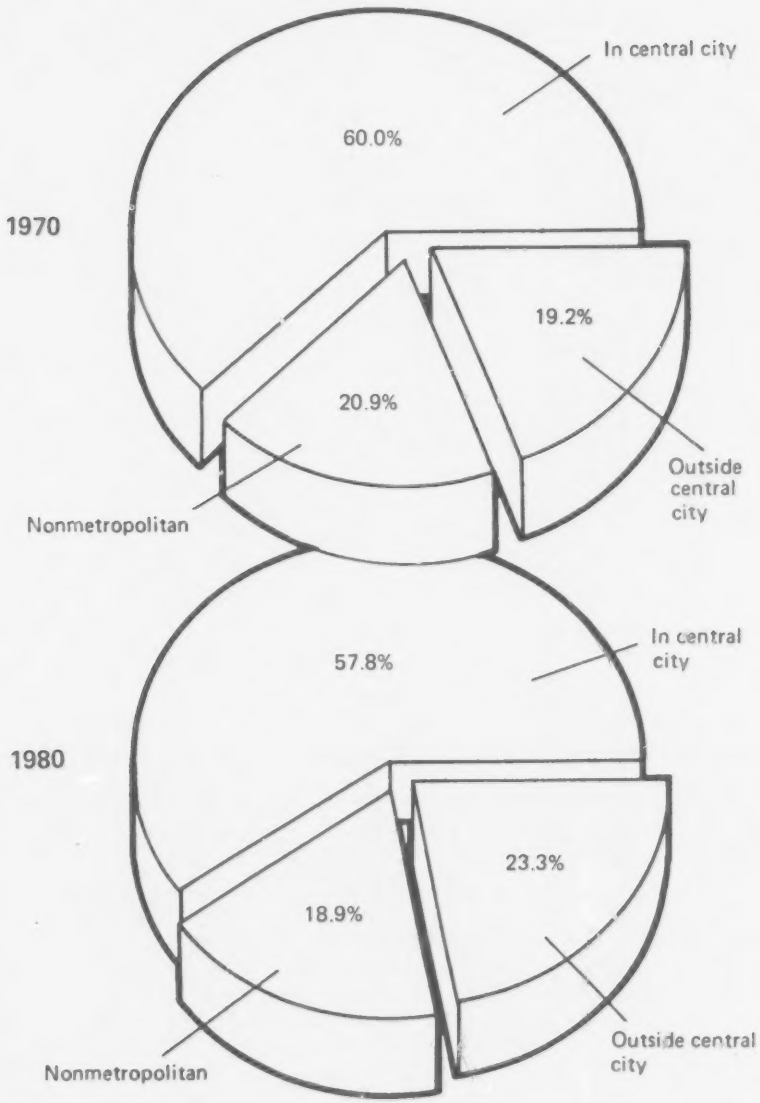
In 1982, the divorce ratio was highest for blacks, particularly women. This ratio is defined as the number of persons who are currently divorced per 1,000 married persons living with their spouses. In 1982, the combined divorce ratio for black men and women (220 per 1,000) was about double that for white men and women (107 per 1,000). At this same time, the divorce ratio for black women was 265 per 1,000. This represents a dramatic rise from 1970, when the divorce ratio for black women stood at only 104 per every 1000 married couples. The divorce ratio among white women rose from 56 to 128 per 1,000 during this same period.

LIFE EXPECTANCY AND MORTALITY

Blacks are now living longer, according to the most recent data from the National Center for Health Statistics. The life expectancy of black males in 1981 averaged 66 years and black females 75 years, doubling their rates of the early 1900's. But whites still are expected to live about 4 years longer than blacks - males to 71 and females to 79.

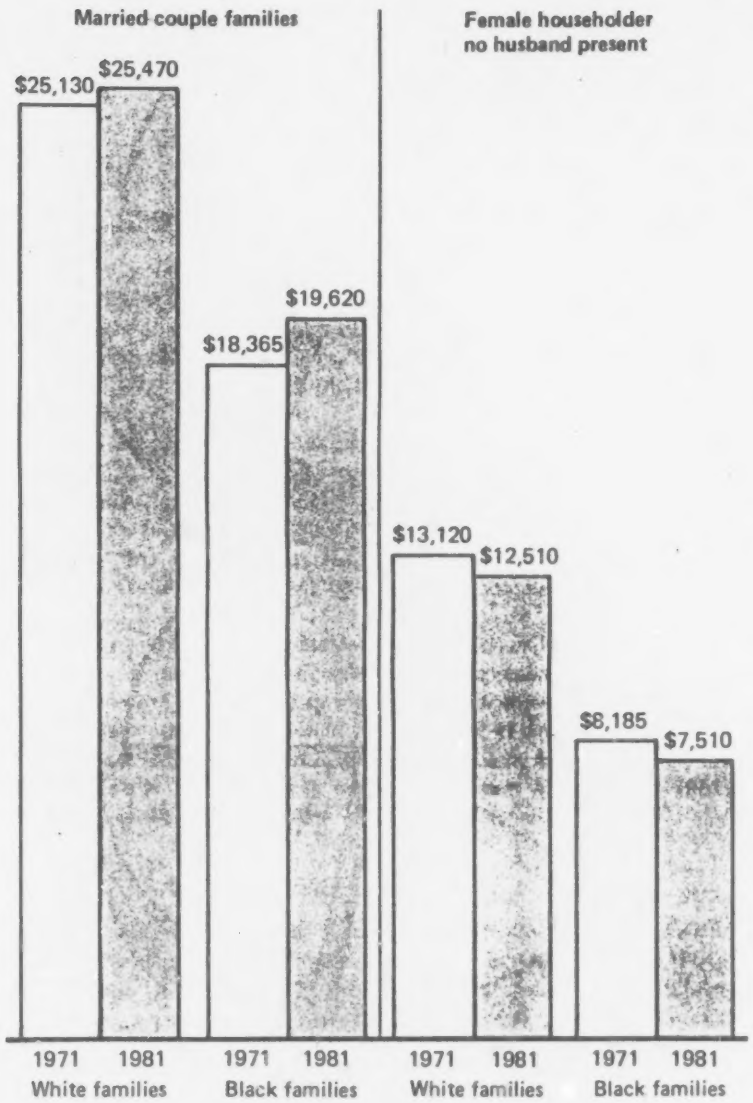
The homicide rate for blacks dropped slightly between 1974 and 1979, from 39.7 to 37.9 deaths per 100,000 persons, but remained significantly higher than whites, which increased from 5.8 to 6.5 over the same period. Black males experienced the highest homicide death rate (64.6) followed black females (13.8), white males (10.1) and white females (3.0).

Distribution of the Black Population by Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Residence: 1970 and 1980



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Median Family Income by Type of Family and Race of Householder: 1971 and 1981
(1981 dollars)



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Occupation of the Black Population in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force in the United States, by Sex: 1980

Selected occupations	Total population	Black population				Ratio men/women
		Both sexes	Percent of total	Men	Women	
Civilian labor force	104,449,817	10,582,436	10.1	5,330,792	5,251,644	1.02
Managerial and professional specialty	22,653,658	1,378,121	6.1	573,688	804,433	.71
Managers and administrators, n.e.c., salaried	4,658,661	190,305	4.1	113,618	76,687	1.48
Management related	2,617,332	161,919	6.2	75,395	86,524	.87
Engineers	1,400,973	36,016	2.6	31,499	4,517	6.97
Physicians	433,255	13,509	3.1	10,264	3,245	3.16
Registered nurses	1,285,299	97,023	7.5	5,489	91,534	.06
Teachers, postsecondary	637,149	31,103	4.9	15,507	15,596	.99
Teachers, except postsecondary	3,722,120	366,032	9.8	77,156	288,876	.27
Social workers	459,984	88,512	19.2	26,965	61,547	.44
Clergy	283,044	16,195	5.7	15,230	965	15.78
Lawyers	501,834	13,594	2.7	9,322	4,272	2.18
Judges	27,845	1,683	6.0	1,162	521	2.23
Technical, sales, and administrative support	30,883,578	2,554,108	8.3	770,187	1,783,921	.43
Licensed practical nurses	435,176	78,640	18.1	2,942	75,698	.04
Computer programmers	317,673	17,987	5.7	10,053	7,934	1.27
Sales representatives, finance and business services	1,846,382	62,688	3.4	36,781	25,907	1.42
Sales representatives, commodities, except retail	1,301,246	32,957	2.5	24,326	8,631	2.82
Sales workers, retail and personal services	5,499,267	381,012	6.9	103,512	277,500	.37
Supervisors, administrative support	1,078,173	100,795	9.3	47,726	53,069	.90
Computer operators	395,547	46,722	11.8	18,681	28,041	.67
Secretaries	3,999,222	231,908	5.8	4,356	227,552	.02
Typists	740,049	118,275	16.0	4,592	113,683	.04
Information clerks	954,328	89,367	9.4	15,565	73,802	.21
Records processing occupations, except financial	1,017,645	136,567	13.4	29,583	106,984	.28
Financial records processing	2,339,398	121,956	5.2	19,709	102,247	.19
Telephone operators	306,360	44,521	14.5	4,119	40,402	.10
Postal clerks, except mail carriers	273,152	68,531	25.1	35,758	32,773	1.09
Mail carriers, postal service	260,574	30,318	11.6	26,393	3,925	6.72
Material recording, scheduling, and distributing clerks, n.e.c.	1,761,685	210,369	11.9	139,717	70,652	1.98
General office clerks	1,736,613	223,769	12.9	42,097	181,672	.23
Data-entry keyers	394,815	65,713	16.6	4,826	60,887	.08

Occupation of the Black Population in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force in the United States, by Sex: 1980 - Con.

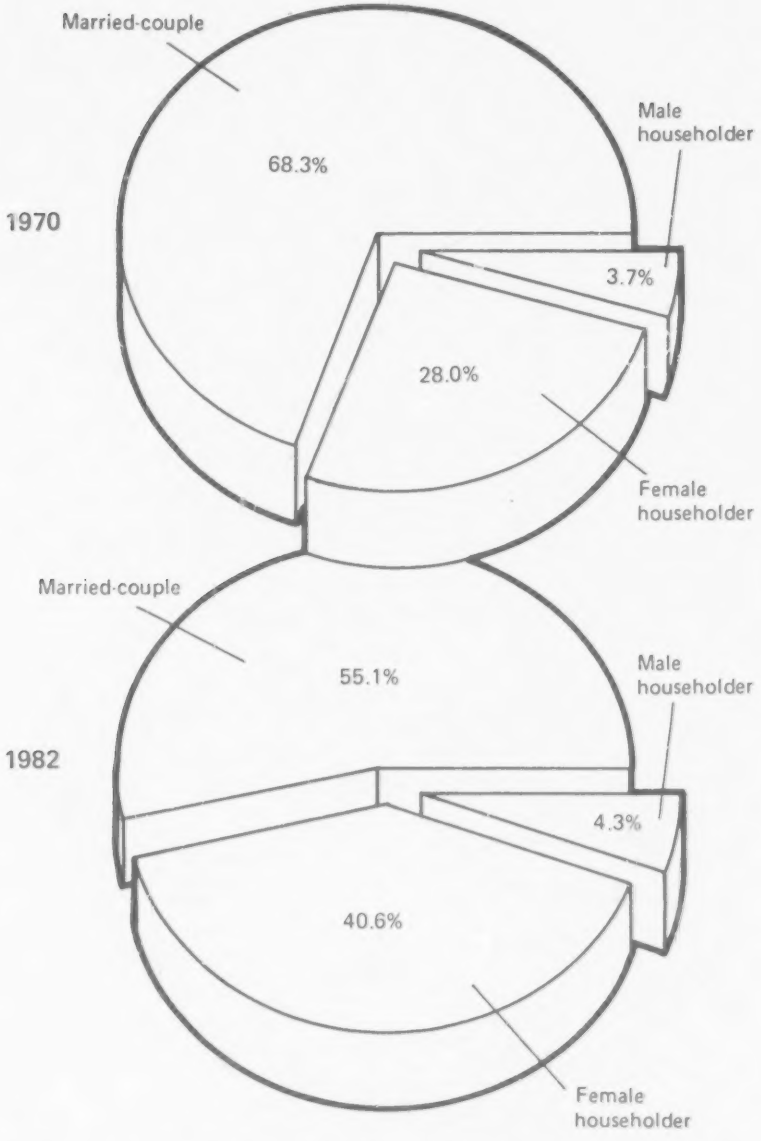
Selected occupations	Total population	Black population				Ratio men/women
		Both sexes	Percent of total	Men	Women	
Services	13,606,074	2,395,273	17.6	893,140	1,502,133	.59
Cooks, private household	11,821	5,687	48.1	537	5,150	.10
Housekeepers and butlers	69,020	26,119	37.8	881	25,238	.03
Private household cleaners and servants	383,888	206,032	53.7	7,790	198,242	.04
Firefighting and fire prevention	215,726	13,316	6.2	12,983	333	38.99
Police and detectives	567,679	60,104	10.6	50,312	9,792	5.14
Guards	662,315	112,798	17.0	89,546	23,252	3.85
Cooks, except short order	1,350,198	236,749	17.5	83,292	153,457	.54
Nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants	1,378,118	377,891	27.4	50,333	327,558	.15
Maids and housemen	673,558	223,702	33.2	51,435	172,267	.30
Janitors and cleaners	2,130,157	470,270	22.1	330,116	140,154	2.36
Hairdressers and cosmetologists	559,254	38,068	6.8	4,445	33,623	.13
Child care workers, except private household	612,666	97,130	15.9	9,839	87,291	.11
Farming, forestry and fishing	3,032,264	212,717	7.0	180,208	32,509	5.54
Farm workers	887,098	94,417	10.6	75,506	18,911	3.99
Groundskeepers and gardeners, except farm	412,615	53,043	12.9	49,153	3,890	12.64
Precision production, crafts, and repairs	13,554,527	931,563	6.9	810,170	121,393	6.67
Mechanics and repairers	3,982,515	261,017	6.6	243,168	17,849	13.62
Brickmasons and stonemasons, except apprentices	205,245	30,555	14.9	30,063	492	61.10
Carpenters, except apprentices	1,295,891	66,553	5.1	64,007	2,546	25.14
Electricians, except apprentices	606,452	30,160	5.0	28,448	1,712	16.62
Painters, construction and maintenance	422,470	41,482	9.8	38,767	2,715	14.28
Plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters, except apprentices	489,644	33,141	6.8	32,175	966	33.31
Precision production	4,444,308	334,354	7.5	244,190	90,164	2.71

Occupation of the Black Population in the Experienced Civilian Labor Force in the United States, by Sex: 1980 - Con.

Selected occupations	Total population	Black population				Ratio men/women
		Both sexes	Percent of total	Men	Women	
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	19,987,975	2,889,105	14.5	2,008,338	880,767	2.28
Metalworking and plastic working machine operators	793,338	81,512	10.3	62,263	19,249	3.23
Textile, apparel, and furnishings machine operators	1,632,042	303,320	18.6	61,217	242,103	.25
Machine operators, assorted materials	3,236,384	511,449	15.8	341,395	170,054	2.01
Fabricators, assemblers, and hand working	2,632,135	362,328	13.8	214,536	147,792	1.45
Production inspectors, testers, samplers, and weighers	905,389	111,404	12.3	45,519	65,885	.69
Truck drivers, heavy	1,896,525	243,220	12.8	236,985	6,235	38.01
Bus drivers	386,334	74,713	19.3	52,061	22,652	2.30
Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs	188,593	42,575	22.6	38,601	3,974	9.71
Material moving equipment operators	1,251,670	156,556	12.5	145,914	10,642	13.71
Construction laborers	861,223	150,934	17.5	145,413	5,521	26.34
Garbage collectors	76,577	26,683	34.8	25,719	964	26.68
Laborers, except construction	1,400,358	261,554	18.7	203,743	57,811	3.52
Unemployed, no civilian work experience since 1975	731,741	221,549	30.3	95,061	126,488	.75

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population/EEO Special File.

Black Families by Type: 1970 and 1982



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools, by race or ethnicity and by State: Fall 1980

State	Total[1]		White[2]		Black[2]		Hispanic		Asian or Pacific Islander		American Indian/ Alaskan Native	
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
United States	**39,832,482**	**100.0**	**29,180,415**	**73.3**	**6,418,194**	**16.1**	**3,179,345**	**8.0**	**749,003**	**1.9**	**305,730**	**.8**
Alabama	754,595	100.0	501,404	66.4	249,734	33.1	529	.1	1,437	.2	1,488	.2
Alaska	80,036	100.0	57,321	71.6	3,108	3.9	1,270	1.6	1,862	2.3	16,475	20.6
Arizona	481,935	100.0	319,623	66.3	20,348	4.2	116,647	24.2	5,369	1.1	19,952	4.1
Arkansas	410,165	100.0	313,812	76.5	92,231	22.5	1,213	.3	1,279	.3	1,642	.4
California	3,954,586	100.0	2,258,499	57.1	400,691	10.1	1,002,207	25.3	260,609	6.6	32,640	.8
Colorado	550,452	100.0	428,884	77.9	25,205	4.6	84,282	15.3	9,162	1.7	2,930	.5
Connecticut	528,250	100.0	438,265	83.0	53,943	10.2	30,433	5.8	4,853	.9	769	.1
Delaware	96,035	100.0	68,365	71.2	24,900	25.9	1,730	1.8	911	.9	128	.1
District of Columbia	104,907	100.0	3,779	3.6	97,962	93.4	2,048	2.0	1,089	1.0	29	(3)
Florida	1,488,344	100.0	1,008,951	67.8	348,769	23.4	117,561	7.9	11,500	.8	1,560	.1
Georgia	1,073,915	100.0	705,582	65.7	359,890	33.5	3,080	.3	4,911	.5	460	(3)
Hawaii	162,198	100.0	40,297	24.8	2,330	1.4	3,300	2.0	115,889	71.4	382	.2
Idaho	210,997	100.0	193,623	91.8	1,140	.5	9,737	4.6	2,069	1.0	4,432	2.1
Illinois	1,929,853	100.0	1,377,566	71.4	403,067	20.9	117,787	6.1	29,273	1.5	2,157	.1
Indiana	1,028,821	100.0	905,077	88.0	102,322	9.9	15,830	1.5	4,687	.5	919	.1
Iowa	516,309	100.0	495,295	95.9	11,445	2.2	4,054	.8	4,503	.9	1,010	.2
Kansas	371,867	100.0	324,818	87.3	29,160	7.8	11,238	3.0	4,501	1.2	2,156	.6
Kentucky	685,952	100.0	623,327	90.9	59,616	8.7	734	.1	2,085	.3	202	(3)
Louisiana	778,314	100.0	440,223	56.6	322,985	41.5	6,136	.8	6,057	.8	2,912	.4
Maine	204,060	100.0	202,233	99.1	579	.3	294	.1	642	.3	325	.2
Maryland	756,012	100.0	502,719	66.5	231,590	30.6	6,876	.9	13,645	1.8	1,183	.2
Massachusetts	918,127	100.0	819,801	89.3	56,675	6.2	30,098	3.3	10,352	1.1	1,207	.1
Michigan	1,759,442	100.0	1,384,576	78.7	314,205	17.9	31,834	1.8	14,478	.8	14,323	.8
Minnesota	796,860	100.0	749,703	94.1	16,760	2.1	5,955	.7	11,872	1.5	12,564	1.6
Mississippi	447,552	100.0	216,523	48.4	228,252	51.0	602	.1	1,567	.4	607	.1
Missouri	832,793	100.0	709,879	85.2	113,356	13.6	4,107	.5	4,489	.5	951	.1
Montana	142,913	100.0	125,635	87.9	454	.3	1,686	1.2	1,204	.8	13,943	9.8
Nebraska	240,226	100.0	214,934	89.5	13,435	5.6	4,473	1.9	1,997	.8	5,385	2.2
Nevada	148,388	100.0	120,310	81.1	14,051	9.5	7,788	5.2	3,212	2.2	3,035	2.0
New Hampshire	156,482	100.0	154,419	98.7	782	.5	620	.4	601	.4	85	(3)
New Jersey	1,223,859	100.0	876,703	71.6	226,823	18.5	98,053	8.0	21,363	1.7	956	.1
New Mexico	270,300	100.0	116,116	43.0	5,928	2.2	125,779	46.5	1,509	.6	20,969	7.8
New York	2,712,925	100.0	1,844,929	68.0	484,296	17.9	325,538	12.0	53,512	2.0	4,674	.2
North Carolina	1,112,193	100.0	757,561	68.1	329,722	29.6	2,136	.2	4,618	.4	18,155	1.6
North Dakota	93,232	100.0	90,012	96.5	424	.5	486	.5	650	.7	1,662	1.8
Ohio	1,907,303	100.0	1,626,107	85.3	249,484	13.1	18,452	1.0	11,095	.6	2,148	.1
Oklahoma	520,025	100.0	411,856	79.2	48,176	9.3	8,502	1.6	4,004	.8	47,490	9.1
Oregon	461,795	100.0	422,494	91.5	9,484	2.1	11,951	2.6	10,249	2.2	7,621	1.7
Pennsylvania	1,868,218	100.0	1,590,782	85.1	231,326	12.4	28,862	1.5	13,651	.7	3,570	.2
Rhode Island	141,841	100.0	130,202	91.8	6,644	4.7	2,974	2.1	1,570	1.1	454	.3
South Carolina	612,153	100.0	345,921	56.5	262,110	42.8	937	.2	2,363	.4	821	.1
South Dakota	117,039	100.0	107,751	92.1	186	.2	283	.2	392	.3	8,430	7.2
Tennessee	849,426	100.0	640,896	75.5	204,019	24.0	918	.1	3,230	.4	311	(3)
Texas	2,846,105	100.0	1,538,758	54.1	408,754	14.4	864,308	30.4	29,977	1.1	4,329	.2
Utah	343,978	100.0	318,892	92.7	1,708	.5	12,014	3.5	5,241	1.5	6,124	1.8
Vermont	74,436	100.0	73,659	99.0	242	.3	104	.1	386	.5	44	.1
Virginia	1,009,853	100.0	731,096	72.5	257,659	25.5	5,152	.5	14,115	1.4	831	.1
Washington	762,733	100.0	655,195	85.9	25,991	3.4	30,428	4.0	27,868	3.7	23,255	3.0
West Virginia	381,970	100.0	365,610	95.7	14,748	3.9	405	.1	1,089	.3	120	(3)
Wisconsin	813,600	100.0	737,796	90.7	50,741	6.2	12,532	1.5	5,583	.7	6,955	.9
Wyoming	100,112	100.0	92,636	92.5	744	.7	5,322	5.3	433	.4	977	1.0

[1] Data on enrollment by race/ethnicity were calculated independently and may not add across to the totals shown in column 2. Because of rounding, percents may not add to 100.0.

[2] Excludes persons of Hispanic origin.

[3] Less than 0.05 percent.

NOTE.—The above tabulation excludes approximately 1,152,000 pupils not reported by race or ethnicity.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, unpublished data from the 1980 Civil Rights Survey.

Average Reading Performance of 9-, 13-, and 17-Year-Old Students, by Race and Region: School Year 1970-71, 1974-75, and 1979-80

Age Group, Race, and Region	Performance			Change		
	1971	1975	1980	1971 to 1975	1975 to 1980	1971 to 1980
	Average Percent Correct					
9-year-olds	64.0	65.3	67.9	1.3*	2.6*	3.9*
White	66.4	67.0	69.3	.6	2.3*	2.8*
Northeast	67.8	69.0	71.6	1.2	2.6*	3.7*
Southeast	63.9	65.3	69.2	1.4	3.9*	5.3*
Central	68.0	69.1	70.3	1.1	1.2	2.3*
West	64.8	66.6	68.8	1.8	2.2*	4.0*
Black	49.7	54.5	59.6	4.8*	5.1*	9.9*
Northeast	54.1	56.4	62.0	2.2	5.6*	7.8*
Southeast	45.4	53.1	58.1	7.6*	5.0*	12.7*
Central	51.0	56.8	60.6	5.8*	3.8*	9.7*
West	51.7	52.6	57.2	.9	4.6	5.5
13-year-olds	60.0	59.9	60.8	−.1	.9	.8
White	62.6	61.9	62.6	−.7	.7	(')
Northeast	64.3	63.1	63.6	−1.2	.5	−.7
Southeast	59.9	60.4	61.6	.6	1.1	1.7
Central	64.4	64.3	64.8	.0	.5	.4
West	61.1	62.1	63.2	1.0	1.1	2.2*
Black	45.4	46.4	49.6	1.0	3.2*	4.2*
Northeast	48.8	48.5	53.2	−.3	4.7*	4.4
Southeast	41.5	45.5	45.5	4.0*	−.1	3.9
Central	47.7	48.6	52.4	.9	3.7	4.7
West	48.1	42.6	50.5	−5.6*	7.9*	2.4
17-year-olds	68.9	69.0	68.2	(')	−.8	−.7
White	71.2	71.2	70.6	(')	−.6	−.7
Northeast	72.7	72.6	70.8	−.1	−1.8	−1.9
Southeast	68.3	70.2	70.2	2.0	.0	2.0
Central	72.6	72.9	71.6	.3	−1.3	−1.0
West	69.9	70.6	71.6	.6	1.0	1.7
Black	51.7	52.1	52.2	.5	.1	.5
Northeast	56.1	54.1	56.1	−1.9	1.9	.0
Southeast	47.7	50.7	49.8	3.0	−.9	2.1
Central	53.8	54.9	54.2	1.1	−.7	.4
West	51.8	49.4	50.8	−2.4	1.4	−1.0

* Indicates statistically significant change in performance between assessments.

' Less than 0.05 percent.

SOURCE: National Assessment of Educational Progress, *Three National Assessments of Reading: Changes in Performance, 1979-80* (Report No. 11-R-01), April 1981.

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